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ABSTRACT

The Women's Research and Development Project of the Graduate School and University Center of The City University of New York sought to prepare women students in Ph.D. programs for careers as college professors. The 1-year project offered women students a series of structured workshops that focused on the information, skills, and attitudes that ensure success in academe: in interviews and with job search, in the classroom, in departmental relations, and in carrying out professional responsibilities. The project also examined the barriers and obstacles to women's progress through the academy, both as graduate students and as members of the faculty/administration. A semester-long seminar was followed by a semester of part-time teaching experiences under the mentorship of experienced faculty and monthly meetings of participants. This report describes project activities, such as formation of a project advisory group and recruitment and selection of students; project outcomes (the majority of participants rated it very useful); and project continuation. Appendices contain a list of advisors, summary of participants' backgrounds, reprints, end-of-program survey, and administrative materials relating to the project. Contains 17 references. (JDD)

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PREPARING WOMEN DOCTORAL STUDENTS FOR A COLLEGE TEACHING CAREER

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	page
BACKGROUND: GOALS AND OBJECTIVES	1
ACTIVITIES: 1993-1994	4
Project Advisors	5
Student Recruitment and Selection	5
Implementation of the Workshop Series	8
OUTCOMES	12
Session Feedback	12
End-of-Program Survey	14
PROJECT CONTINUATION	20
APPENDICES	24
A. List of Advisors	A1
B. Recruitment Flyer	B1
C. Table 1: Summary of Participants' Background	C1
D. Handouts	D1
E. End-of-Session Rating Form	E1
F. End-of-Program Survey	F
G. Agenda	G

PREPARING WOMEN DOCTORAL STUDENTS FOR A COLLEGE TEACHING CAREER

Building on the principal investigator's experience with training future members of the professoriate[1], this Women's Research and Development project sought to prepare women Ph.D. students for careers as college professors. This one-year project (10/1/93 - 9/30/94), planned and carried out by women, offered women students at The Graduate School and University Center of The City University of New York a series of structured workshops that focused on the information, skills, and attitudes that assure success in academe: in interviews and with job search, in the classroom, in departmental relations, and in carrying out professional responsibilities. The workshop series, acclaimed by all constituencies as much needed and very successful, struck a particularly responsive chord among the participants who expressed their personal thanks to all "those [people] who brought the program into life."

BACKGROUND: Goals and Objectives

The project had two basic purposes: (1) to extend to women training in the ideas and skills doctoral students need to become productive members of the professoriate; and (2) to examine the barriers and obstacles to women's progress through the academy, both as graduate

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[1] Heller, Barbara R. Preparing Doctoral Students for Urban College Teaching, 1991-1992 through 1993-94, Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FIPSE). Center for Advanced Study in Education (CASE), The Graduate School and University Center, The City University of New York (in progress.)

Heller, Barbara R. Preparing Future Faculty (PFF): Developing Resource Materials, 1993-94 to 1994-95. American Association of Colleges and Universities, Council of Graduate Schools, Pew Charitable Trusts. Center for Advanced Study in Education (CASE), The Graduate School and University Center, The City University of New York (in progress.)

students and, subsequently, as members of the faculty/administration. Precedence for these goals came from the FIPSE-sponsored project (cited above), which became operational in 1991-92.

Consisting of a semester-long seminar, followed in the second semester by part-time teaching experiences under the mentorship of experienced faculty and monthly meetings of participants, the FIPSE program worked with women and men doctoral students in the social sciences, humanities, and sciences, engineering, and mathematics. The content of the FIPSE seminar touched on theoretical and practical issues, starting with a discussion of the history of the American higher education system and the current demographics of the college population. There was a special emphasis on colleges and universities serving urban populations, with several sessions devoted to the implications for teaching stemming from the diversity of today's students, their language varieties, and their generally low level of basic skills; also considered were students' high level of motivation and commitment to education.

Some seminar sessions were devoted to the nuts and bolts of pedagogy--the first day of class, preparing lectures, collaborative learning and other forms of grouping for instruction, creating a syllabus, testing and alternate forms of assessment, and grading--as well as how to deal with problem students, plagiarism and cheating, and introducing ethical behavior to undergraduates. Attention was also paid to developing a professional c.v., interviewing and other job search strategies, balancing responsibilities, obtaining grants, and writing for publication. Seminar students also observed master teachers in the classroom and talked about

characteristics of effective teachers, including personal teaching styles; drew up for review a comprehensive syllabus for an introductory course in their discipline; investigated the major sources of external funding available to them; and wrote a professional c.v. which was critiqued by staff and other experts.

Among the important outcomes of the FIPSE project was not only a tested paradigm for training doctoral students at the GSUC and at other graduate institutions, but a curriculum for doing so, based on a better understanding of the interests of doctoral students and of what they know and want and need to know in order to be effective academics. For example, in addition to not being familiar with innovative or even basic pedagogical principles and strategies, graduate students typically also do not:

- have a working knowledge of the structure of the American higher education system,
- understand how a university is structured nor how any particular type of institution is organized;
- know the progression from assistant to full professor, nor the differences between regular and part-time faculty or instructional and non-instructional staff;
- have a grasp of the tenure process nor understand the distinctions between a tenure- and non-tenure-track position;
- know how to prepare a professional c.v., make use of the university's placement services, nor understand how to plan an effective job search;
- appreciate important differences among the disciplines that can affect interpersonal and departmental relations as well as university policy; and
- understand how to balance personal and professional obligations and, importantly, how to accommodate teaching, research, and service responsibilities. Indeed, most doctoral students also do not have a good sense of what constitutes service, what forms it can take, or how service is weighed in promotion/tenure decisions.

Moreover, most of the doctoral students we encountered did not understand the nature and extent of the commitment they were making to graduate education; did not appreciate the underlining principles driving graduate education; had no knowledge of the range of their career options and how these may change over time; and, largely as a result of their graduate training, did not recognize teaching as an important and legitimate endeavor. These and other students' needs informed the overall direction that the present project would follow. The work of Bernice Resnick Sandler[2] informed its specific objectives; to provide women doctoral students with:

- the knowledge, attitudes, and skills to participate more fully and equitably in academic life and in their disciplines by dealing with the psychological barriers to success;
- adequate preparation to recognize and respond to structural and organizational barriers to advancement; and
- patterns of behavior that respond proactively to sociological obstacles to growth.

This project also sought to develop an on-going mechanism to help assure women students equity at The Graduate School and University Center.

ACTIVITIES: 1993-1994

The major activities of this project year included the formation of a project advisory group, the recruitment and selection of students, and the implementation of the workshop series. An evaluation was also planned and carried out.

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[2] Sandler, Bernice Resnick. Success and Survival Strategies for Women Faculty Members. Association of American Colleges, 1818 R Street, NW, Washington, D.C., 20009, May 1992.

Project Advisors. Early in the year, the project director formed an advisory group representing the Graduate School and the CUNY colleges; the sciences, social sciences, and humanities disciplines; and the diversity of concerns of racial and ethnic minority women. Student, professional, and administrative perspectives were also included in the final composition of the group which included: Meg Bouvier (a Ph.D. student in Biomedical Science), Professor Dorothy O. Helly (History Department, Hunter College), Professor Leslie Jacobson (Department of Health and Nutrition Sciences; Brooklyn College), Dr. Pamela T. Reid (Associate Provost, The Graduate School and University Center), Dean Julia Yuen-Heung ToDutka (School of Education and Educational Services, Baruch College), and Professor Sue Rosenberg Zalk (Hunter College and The Graduate School and University Center, Ombudsperson, the GSUC, and Editor, Journal of Sex Roles). (See Appendix A.)

The advisors' responsibilities were to help determine the content of the workshop series and, where appropriate, to co-lead the individual sessions. They were also instrumental in identifying the other co-presenters--also women of distinction who would help guide the discussions. Most questions of format, scheduling, and administration were handled by project staff. The advisors met together twice in the Fall of 1993. Individual meetings and telephone conversations were held between advisors and the project director during the course of the year. In addition, several advisors attended more than one workshop meeting.

Student Recruitment and Selection. To recruit students, we prepared an announcement in the form of a flyer which was mailed with the GSUC's Spring 1994 registration packet to all

2,093 matriculated women doctoral students, part-time and full-time, in the 32 Ph.D. programs. (See Appendix B.) Applications/inquiries were received from more then 60 women, all of whom expressed interest in taking part in the workshop.

Staff and advisors developed criteria for the selection of participants. These included giving preference to women in the sciences and to more advanced students--i.e., to those closer to completing their degree requirements; representing a broad array of disciplines; and, to the extent possible, enrolling women with different life experiences, life styles, and sexual orientations. Consideration was also given to the reasons applicants had for wanting to attend the workshop so as to assure some degree of compatibility with the program's objectives.

Twenty-one women were chosen for the workshop series from the Art History, Theatre, Electrical Engineering, Business, Biopsychology, and Computer Science Ph.D. programs, among others. (See Table 1, Appendix C, for a description of participants' backgrounds.) For the most part, they were Level III students (63%), having completed all of the required coursework and preliminary examinations. Their median age is 37; they were born between 1970 (24 years old) and 1940 (54 years old.) Most (84%) attended non-CUNY schools as undergraduates, and almost all (approximately 75%) had already had some teaching experience. Their reasons for, or expectations about the workshop, varied. As one student said:

> "I would like to talk about strategies for overcoming certain biases toward age as well as gender; for evaluating the job market and interviewing techniques; and tips for selecting recommendations, building networks, and compensating for the absence of teaching experience."

Another applicant wanted to learn:

"... to be a more effective teacher and to become more aware of scholarly opportunities that are not yet evident to me [as well as] the special needs of females and minority students. [I would like] to meet other women whose goals are similar to mine."

Still another woman explained,

"I want to develop a little professional savvy--as sense of how to articulate, prioritize, and achieve my goals.... I come from a basically non-academic background [and] am the first in my family to work toward a doctoral degree. I am therefore somewhat naive with respect to being aware of what is expected of me, now, as a student and what to be expected of me practically and politically in the future.... I am also the mother of a 3-year old. I feel a constant tension between my different roles and need to establish professional priorities.... I could use... practical suggestions... for directing my energies... and for improving my performance as a classroom teacher."

One women wanted to:

"have my eyes opened: Although I have been teaching part-time for three years now... I don't feel that I am aware of the inner politics of the academic world [and] male domination remains abstract to me... leaving me ill-prepared for a world in which we are not always judged by our merits and where other unspoken factors take on significance..."

Applicants expressed interest in the female experience:

"I am grateful that the issue of being a women in the academic world is finally being addressed.... It is my hope that this seminar will offer the knowledge, support, and guidance for women to be able to move more comfortably forward professionally, without having to assume a different identity, or to be forced to put aside innovative ideas in order to conform to male expectations and perceptions."

Several were concerned with a variety of other teaching-related issues, including:

"promotion and tenure";
"grant getting";
"meeting more (women) academics";
"getting a teaching job";
"learning what I don't know";
"developing skills to navigate the intricate political and social framework of the academy";
"integrating college teaching and research";

"balancing professional and life style concerns";
"getting along with male colleagues"; and
"learning strategies to encourage other women to enter my field."

The workshop was envisioned primarily as pertaining to the particular problems women face as they progress in academe, including their experiences as students, as applicants for teaching jobs, and through their early years as members of the professoriate. The applicants were fairly evenly divided in their expectations, with many perceiving the seminar as an opportunity to explore gender-related issues in teaching and learning. An equally significant number perceived the seminar as a way to hone their teaching and job search skills. One participant summed up the coming together of these threads:

> "I was shocked to realize how misogynistic academia is--one of the reasons I was attracted to it [and have struggled through three semesters as an adjunct teacher] was for a perceived-to-be more liberal environment.... But how can you cope? How can we succeed when the game seems rigged? How can we balance our professional activities with the realities of the market and our desired career goals? Help!"

The workshop was just one small way of helping.

Implementation of the Workshop Series. With the input of the advisors, and taking the applicants' expectations into account, we planned a 6-session workshop series, as follows:

Date	Title	Presenter(s)
April 4, 1994	Politics of Systems -- How to survive in and make the (academic) system work for you. This session explored the historical structure and organization of the professoriate and focused on changing and emerging patterns as well as on such questions as why are there so few women administrators and so many pseudo -administrators; intra-departmental relations;	Frances Fox Piven, Professor, Political Science Ph.D. Program, Graduate School and University Center/ CUNY

	the multiplicity of factors in addition to gender that are used to differentiate women (religion, race, and culture and language); and obstacles to and ways to facilitate tenure and promotion.	
April 11, 1994	Presentation Styles - Classroom Dynamics -- How women have traditionally viewed themselves and how they affect their audience. This session emphasized how women view themselves professionally, including how they respond to the inner voice, their style of presentation and body language, the tentativeness syndrome, and being "better than the boys". Also covered were the "masculization" of women, collegial relationships, and selected incompetence as a strategy that impedes/facilitates people's progress. The in-class component, power and status hierarchies as student and teacher, were also examined.	Sherryl Graves, Professor and Chair, Department of Educational Foundations and Counseling, Hunter College/ CUNY and Julia Yuen-Heung ToDutka, Professor and Dean, School of Education and Educational Services, Baruch College/CUNY
April 18, 1994	The Casting Couch -- This session was about ethical, personal, and professional issues related to sexual and to gender harassment. It explored the ways, sexual and otherwise, that men make clear that expectations for women are different because of their gender. Also covered were issues related to sexual orientation.	Darlene C. DeFour, Professor, Department of Psychology, Hunter College/CUNY and Sue Rosenberg Zalk, Professor, Ombudsperson, Graduate School and University Center/ CUNY; Editor, Journal of Sex Roles
April 25, 1994	Balancing Responsibilities -- What are the regulations and legal limitations that affect	Nancy Romer, Professor,

	the kinds of social choices women make? This session focused on the legal (Federal, State, and institutional) issues influencing the employment and mobility of women in academe and related professions and included alternate models of social/professional paths -- what women are doing today about having families, for example, in contrast to prior patterns and activities. The session also provided opportunity for participants to discuss their probable social choices in light of how they analyze the situation and set and view their personal agenda.	Department of Psychology, Brooklyn College/ CUNY and Pamela T. Reid, Associate Provost, The Graduate School and University Center/CUNY
May 2, 1994	Academic Scholarship: The Curriculum -- As a professor, how do you handle your discipline with regard to gender, race, etc. This session focused on the curriculum, including research undertakings and professional writing, and other scholarship issues as these are impacted by gender and sex. Covered the substantive side of scholarship: who does scholarship-- when, and why--in participants' own research/teaching fields.	Marina Heung, Professor, English Department, Baruch College/CUNY and Dorothy O.Helly, Professor, History Department, Hunter College/ CUNY
May 9, 1994	Mentorships: Women Helping Women -- This session was about being a good mentor and mentee. It was designed to concentrate on issues relating to finding good mentors and to developing into good mentors of other women. Here, the purpose is not only on how to be a good mentor and teacher, but how to make use of and expand existing formal and informal networks for women; the domino principle; sister systems; and where do we go from here? What have we gotten out of the program that would be useful to others?	Terry Ann Krulwich, Professor and Executive Officer, Ph.D. Program in Biomedical Sciences, Graduate School and University Center/ CUNY and Felicia Bonaparte, Professor, Ph.D. Program in English, Graduate School and

The meetings were scheduled for 6 successive Mondays, from 4:00-6:00 p.m., and were held in a large seminar room at The Graduate School and University Center. In order to have more time to finish a previous discussion, to make announcements about upcoming events, and to pass out and talk about the handouts (see below), we added 15 minutes to the starting time of each meeting. Participants were also encouraged to stay after 6:00 p.m. to continue a conversation and/or ask questions of the presenter(s) and/or the other advisors in attendance. Many individual connections were forged because of such serendipitous occurrences as the reuniting of the mentor and her old student (from the student's undergraduate days); the borrowing and lending of books and other resource material; and so on.

Attendance rates were high, 89 percent overall, ranging from the presence of 95 percent of the participants (20) at session #6 (Mentorship: Women Helping Women) to 86 percent (18) at sessions # 3, 4, and 5 (The Casting Couch, Balancing Responsibilities, and Academic Scholarship). From what we could ascertain, attendance patterns did not so much reflect participants' interests as people's individual schedules and other commitments. On a session-by-session basis, 48 percent of the participants (10 women) attended all six meetings, 38 percent (8) came to five sessions, and 3 or 14 percent were in attendance at four sessions.

Materials, notably articles from current newspapers and reprints from professional journals and other publications, were distributed at the workshop sessions. Appendix D contains

copies of all of these handouts. Note that the doctoral students liked the materials and appreciated having them. These handouts on sexual harrassment were singled as excellent.

OUTCOMES

In this section, we will present data describing the impact of the program on participants, based on their opinions and reactions. We will also summarize how the project was continued during the 1993-94 year and into the subsequent (current) academic year--itself prima facie evidence of its success in identifying and meeting the needs of women doctoral students.

Session Feedback. At the conclusion of each meeting, participants were asked to complete a "one-minute evaluation" (see Appendix E) that asked them what about the day's presentation was most useful and what they would change to make it more useful. Their recommendations were seriously considered, and to the extent possible, the suggestions were incorporated into the structure or content of future meetings. Following is a session-by-session synopsis of the comments made by participants.

Session #1 participants particularly liked the practical information dealing with the politics of systems and the hiring/tenure process, institutional organization and functions, tips on starting a new position, getting and keeping an academic job, getting ahead in the academy, and the specifics they received on teaching possibilities and tenure. They also enjoyed "hearing from so many other women who are facing the same sort of problems" as they are. In terms of additions to the session and changes, participants wanted more discussion of the academic

power structure, how to communicate with men, and institutional politics.

Session #2, presentation styles and classroom dynamics, was rated highly by the participants because of all of the practical information and teaching tips. The group liked the "specific ideas and strategies for developing a comprehensive teaching model for women," and the precise suggestions for interacting with students. The participants suggested that more time be allotted for discussion, particularly discussion about teaching techniques for women that may be different from those for men.

Session # 3, "Casting Coach", dealt with ethical, and personal and professional issues related to sexual and gender harassment. The women who took part liked the concrete information about and definition of sexual harassment and the openness of the discussion. The handouts were singled out as particularly helpful, as was the discussion of how to deal with sexual harassment and with the harasser. The participants suggested that there needs to be more done with respect to "how to reach out to other women to combat the problem" and how to get "this information disseminated".

Session #4 was on "Balancing Responsibilities." It got good reviews. Participants appreciated the chance to "learn about different people's experiences", and to talk "about juggling/balancing different professional and personal responsibilities", and "strategies for extending professional networks". There were no suggestions for changing this session, although some respondents regretted that the discussion did not get into "personal stuff."

Session # 5 was about "Academic Scholarship: The Curriculum" and was devoted to a discussion of how to handle one's discipline with regard to gender, race, etc. Participants specifically liked the presenters' suggestions for incorporating "gender, race, class and ethnicity into the syllabus," and they also liked the idea of "how to introduce a non-traditional course to a class", and how to "bring students actively into the learning process." They felt that this session was "great, great, great. Good honest discussion."

Session # 6 on "Mentorship: Women Helping Women" was designed to introduce the topic of mentor-mentee relationships. The discussion about "the differences/benefits between male and female mentors", and "balancing mentors--having different mentors for different needs," was noted as very useful. Participants wanted to talk more about "strategies that have worked", and about "the role of women as mentors, past, present, and future, in academia". While mentoring was an important topic and generated lively discussion, participants tended to find it confusing. There were "too many contradictions and mixed messages" and many "points and questions raised by both the participants and members of this seminar were never resolved or answered." Note that the group's interest in mentoring persisted and became a topic in the project's continuation in 1994-95.

End-of-Program Survey. After the sixth session, we sent a 4-page, 13-item questionnaire to all of the participants. It purported to assess their reactions to and opinions about the workshop program and to some other issues related to the program's goals and content. A followup survey was sent to the non-respondents. (See Appendix F for a copy of the

survey instrument.) The combined response rate of 81 percent for both mailings was high.

We tried but could not determine any similarities among the four non-respondents that might relate to their not having returned the completed questionnaire. For example, they represented different disciplines and differed in age, ethnicity, and life style. Interestingly, all exhibited high levels of attendance (two had zero absences, while each of the other two had one absence only.)

Overall, participants were generous in rating the program. More than 70 percent (71%) felt that it was "very useful"; the other approximately 30 percent indicated that they found it "somewhat useful". More than three out of four respondents (77%) felt that there was a good balance between the emphasis on "women concerns" and on "pedagogy and teaching career concerns." Almost 60 percent rated the program as "very enjoyable", while the remainder found it to be "somewhat enjoyable." All would "recommend the seminar to a friend"--"In fact, I did"--and most would do so without qualification (65%). Those who expressed some reservation volunteered that the group was too large to permit everyone who wanted to to speak; that the participants themselves (but not necessarily the group leaders) were overly concerned with "consciousness raising"; and that the background of the participants was "too diverse." As we will see below, the differences among participants was generally viewed as one of the program's strengths.

Participants expressed their overall satisfaction in many ways. One student said that the

experience "opened my eyes." Another person indicated that "although some of my responses sound lukewarm, in fact, I got a lot out of the seminar and appreciate the opportunity to participate." Still another young woman agreed that the seminar was "an eye opener" and thanked the "organizers of the project." The very positive reactions are illustrated by the woman who said:

> "It's been so very helpful that I am somewhat sad that it's over! Thanks so much for organizing this, for accepting me, and for getting the funding for this seminar series. I frequently tell my boss [a University Dean] how helpful it is and how important that all this continue and expand."

Several people, including those who lauded the efforts of the staff, advisors, and presenters, nevertheless had important recommendations for future programs, many of which appear contradictory. These included the fact that, at times, the discussion was "too general" or "too discipline-specific"; that the information/discussion was "too basic" and "very general"; and that, as noted, the group was "too large". Overwhelmingly, however, the feeling was that the seminar did indeed "offer the opportunity of dealing with issues of women in the academic world from the perspective and experience of women that are in the academic world."

Specific questions pertained to format. With respect to the number of meetings, most respondents (71%) thought that the six were "just enough"; 29 percent of the group felt that there were "too few" meetings. As one participant said, "Any shorter, I would have felt 'cheated'. Any longer, I would have felt I shouldn't have committed the time." Similarly, almost all of the respondents (94%) felt that the length of each session was "just about right", with the remainder indicating that they were "too short." Approximately two-thirds of the

women who answered felt that, "yes, there was enough time at each session for everyone to voice her opinion," but three of the six people who said "no" indicated that the group was "too large." We do not necessarily agree that it was the size of the group that was responsible for the fact that some participants were very quiet. Rather, we hypothesize, that there are people who do not speak out in a group of any size but who, nevertheless, may have gotten something out of the experience. In a similar vein, the respondents felt that the variation in participants' experiences "added to the discussion" (100%), "made the discussion more interesting" (100%), and "stimulated new ideas" (88%). A small percentage (12%) indicated that it may have "led to too many diversions."

The survey contained several questions about the curriculum: the single most and the single least important topic; the most unexpected topic or discussion; the topic that needed more discussion and the one that could have been eliminated or curtailed; and important topics that may have been omitted. Participants were also asked to briefly describe one new idea or concept they had learned about. In reading the description of their responses, it is important to note that for every person who said something was the most important topic, some other person listed the same topic as least important. Thus, these results cannot be taken as directive; they are merely suggestive.

The most important topic, mentioned by eight respondents was "the politics of the academic system", including unspoken policies and the structure of the academic world. Tenure was also mentioned by four people, and sexual harassment was singularly important to two other

women. Also noted by one person each were "classroom dynamics", "balancing responsibilities", and the "specifics of how to apply for a teaching position."

As noted, some of these same topics--e.g., balancing responsibilities, sexual harassment, and mentoring--were also listed as the least important topics. Mentioned as well, as of lesser importance, were Scholarship and the Curriculum and "playing dumb" (purposeful helplessness). The most surprising or unexpected discussion centered on sexual harassment (4 responses), presentation styles (2), mentoring, undesirable academic service tasks, and gender-related curriculum/scholarship issues, among other things.

Participants asked for discussion or more discussion of mentoring (N=5), tenure and academic politics (4), the curriculum and multiculturalism (2), job search strategies (2), and sexual harassment (2) as well as developing a c.v. and specific classroom strategies for capturing the attention of students. The women also indicated that they would like to talk more about balancing responsibilities, negotiating conferences and professional meetings, writing for publication, and non-teaching academic careers. In contrast, they felt that the seminar overly emphasized gender and the curriculum and the use (if any) of a purposeful helpless strategy.

When asked about one new idea or concept that they had learned about, participants listed several, including: "that I'm not the only one", the demands of a tenure-track position, the importance of a proactive approach, breaking students up into small groups for instructional purposes, writing a letter to a sexual harasser or other person acting unfairly, the academic

hierarchy, and how the tenure process works.

All respondents rated the presenters as "good" or "excellent". They felt that having two presenters at each meetings was "reinforcing" and not "distracting", and that, in general, the presenters worked "somewhat" or "very well" together.

The outcomes with respect to the impact of the program on the participants were also noteworthy. When asked about their level of interest in issues relating to women before the seminar, everyone indicated that they were "somewhat" or "very" interested in these concerns; after the seminar, an increasing number of respondents reported the highest level of interest, an increase from 71 to 88 percent. They attributed this change to the "overall program"--to its "general content" rather than to a "specific idea" or to the "influence of peers."

Before the seminar, a few participants said they were "not at all" or "not very involved" in women's organizations/causes (18% and 12%, respectfully). However, the majority reported that they were "somewhat" (47%) or "very" involved (12%) already. At the end of the project, and as a result of it, more students indicated that they had become "more interested in a discussion group" (before to after change from 24% to 77%); and more of them became "more interested in affiliating with a professional group in their field" (from 29% to 65%). In contrast, there was no change with respect to their interest in joining a "political" or "activist" group.

The single best indicator of the project's significant impact on the women students who

took part in it was their desire to continue meeting beyond the original six sessions. This is discussed below.

PROJECT CONTINUATION.

As the sessions progressed, the participants became increasingly interested in additional meetings to talk about new topics and/or to extend earlier discussions. They were also committed to carrying on the relationships, interactions, and the intellectual stimulation that had been initiated.

Initially scheduled to end with the May 9, 1994 session on Mentorships (session #6), project staff arranged for an additional meeting of the group on June 13, 1994, to talk about "how to get a teaching position." Held at The Graduate School and University Center from 4:00 to 5:30 p.m., the discussion was led by Professor Sally O'Driscoll, a Graduate School and University Center graduate who now teaches Comparative Literature at Fairfield University; and Professor M. Anne Hill, who teaches Economics at Queens College/CUNY. The session was well attended (N=17) and highly rated.

Also at this meeting, time was set aside for a discussion of ways to continue the program, including various possibilities for funding it at a modest level (for postage, duplicating, etc.) It was at this point that active leadership of the project was transferred from the project director to the 5 to 7 most involved doctoral students, including the staff associate who is also a student. As the program evolved, it fell primarily to one student and the project staff associate to

coordinate the 1994-95 academic year activities. The project director continues in an advisory role, also committing some resources to the project's continuation.

At the June meeting, the participants proposed topics for the next year: networking, mentoring, writing a thesis proposal, presenting at conferences, writing for publication, grant writing, and the academic power structure. Most of the topics were new, but as can be seen, some were continuations of earlier conversations. Another planning meeting took place on August 25, 1994 from 4:00-6:30 p.m. At this meeting, the agenda for 1994-95 underwent revision, possible presenters were proposed, a group leader was nominated, and plans were made to: (1) attempt to obtain some financial support for "OTPS" expenses (xeroxing, postage) and for modest honoraria and/or travel expenses for speakers from outside the CUNY system; and (2) review the program format, including whether we should maintain its exclusive concentration on women as participants and as presenters, the meeting schedule, and other administrative matters.

During the Fall of 1994, the curriculum was finalized and some presenters were contacted (see Appendix G for the most recent agenda); meeting announcements were sent to all previous participants and advisors; flyers were displayed on the bulletin boards of all 32 Ph.D. program offices; announcements were inserted in the GSUC News, the biweekly newspaper listing events of interest to the GSUC community; and contact was made and meetings held with several GSUC administrators and with other GSUC groups and organizations.

As noted, the project associate (and a co-author of this report) assumed responsibility for the administrative aspects of the project while another doctoral student, a Ph.D. candidate in the Theater Ph.D. program, took on the tasks of interacting with administrators and others, with the support and guidance of the project director. In the hope of obtaining some funds and other resources to support the "Women PhD's and the Academy" Seminar Series -- the group's new name -- she met with the Vice President for Student Affairs and the Assistant to the Vice President; the DSC (Doctoral Student Council), the organization representing the interests of the doctoral students; the Center for the Study of Women and Society; the Women's Studies Certificate Program; and the Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies (CLAGS). For a variety of reasons, including the fact that the group decided to limit membership to women, thus far, requests for funding have not been forthcoming.[3] At the time this report was written, we had not yet explored other avenues of support.

The participants themselves are vocal and earnest about the reasons that this or similar project needs to be continued.

> "I am more confident about the 'lay of the land' in the teaching system".
>
> "Fabulous - much needed program that I hope will continue and would recommend for anyone."
>
> "I am now more focused on 'getting that job'. Thanks!"
>
> "I also think that the organization of the seminar, as well as the availability of resources

[3] We estimate that, at a $100 honorarium for each of 7 presenters, the program will need at most, on an annual basis, a budget of from $1,000 to $1,200 for out-of-pocket expenses, exclusive of any support for the time of the student leader.

and documentation offered to us was a remarkable asset. This was a very good way of making us feel comfortable and welcomed."

"I expect that our new knowledge and goal to be a college teacher [a result of the seminar] will help to facilitate the way for other women to come."

"Personally, I feel less isolated as I struggle through the final stages of earning a doctorate.... So many others expressed the same frustrations, concerns, and experiences that I can no longer feel 'it-must-be-me'."

"I also feel more committed as a woman to being fairly included into shaping the academy... and entering the 21th century..."

"I feel more confident about making choices... about choosing my battles -- which things to pursue, which things to let go."

"... some of my answers [on the questionnaire] may sound iffy, but in fact I got a lot out of the seminar and appreciated the opportunity to participate. I hope you will be able to continue."

"The seminar came at a good time for me ... reminding me how much we can get from each other, and that we're not just isolated fighting our individual battles..."

"I actually feel that this seminar has given me confidence ... to change my [self-effacing] attitude and realize I'm just as good as others. Also, I've got to learn to stop my own tentativeness before it squashes me! Thank you for organizing the seminar. It opened my eyes!"

"... valuable for keeping things in perspective."

"Thanks for bringing this project into my life!"

"... I have thoroughly enjoyed [the bibliography.]"

"Thank you for all your hard work in putting this wonderful program together."

APPENDIX A

LIST OF ADVISORS

PREPARING WOMEN DOCTORAL STUDENTS FOR A COLLEGE TEACHING CAREER

ADVISORY GROUP

Meg Bouvier
Ph.D.Program in Biomedical Science
6 East 97 Street Apt. 5C
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212-369-7220

Barbara R.Heller
CASE, Project Director
City University Graduate Center
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212-877-2633 (h)

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NY, NY 10023
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212-772-5546 (o)

Leslie Jacobson
Professor, Department of Health and Nutrition Science
Brooklyn College
Bedford Avenue and Avenue H
Brooklyn, NY 11210
718-951-5026, 5707

Pamela T.Reid
Associate Provost
Graduate School and University Center
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New York, NY 10036
212-642-2104 (o)

Julia Yuen-Heung To Dutka
Dean, School of Education and Educational Services
Baruch College
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New York, NY 10010
212-387-1720 (o)

Sue Rosenberg Zalk
Editor, Journal of Sex Roles
Graduate School and University Center
33 W. 42 Street
New York, NY 10036
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APPENDIX B

RECRUITMENT FLYER

B1

SPECIAL SEMINAR SERIES ON COLLEGE TEACHING FOR CUNY'S WOMEN Ph.D. STUDENTS

WHAT?

- A special seminar series for women Ph.D. students, addressing gender-related issues in completing degree requirements and in getting, keeping, and progressing in a college teaching position.

WHEN?

- Spring semester, 1994
- Six (6) seminar meetings, date/time TBA

WHERE?

- The Graduate School and University Center

TO FILE AN APPLICATION

- Applications may be obtained in Room 300N (25 West 43 Street) or by calling 212/642-2910.
- Open to all women students; preference will be given to women in disciplines in which women have traditionally been underrepresented.
- Application deadline, December 31, 1993.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

- Call Barbara R. Heller or Adele Bahn at 212/642-2910 or write: CASE, the Center for Advanced Study in Education, Room 300N, 25 West 43 Street, New York, NY 10036.

Sponsored By:

- The Center for Advanced Study in Education (CASE), The Graduate School and University Center, with a grant from The Women's Research and Development Fund, The City University of New York.

APPENDIX C

TABLE 1: SUMMARY OF PARTICIPANTS' BACKGROUND

C1

SUMMARY OF PARTICIPANTS' BACKGROUND

Ph.D. Program

3 or more students	--	Political Science
2 students	--	Theatre, Linguistics, Business
1 student	--	History, Art History, Anthropology, Electrical Engineering, Social Personality, Physics, Criminal Justice, Biopsychology, Computer Science, Comparative Literature

Year of Birth

1940 - 49	--	3
1950 - 59	--	6
1960 - 69	--	7
1970 - 79	--	2

Undergraduate College

CUNY	--	16.7%		
non-CUNY	--	83.3%	NY State	- 42.9%
			out-of-State	- 57.1%

Graduate Degree

Yes	--	72.2%
No	--	27.8%

Teaching Experience

Yes	--	77.8%	College Level	- 71.4%
			High School	- 28.6%
No	--	22.2%		

Level

I	-	11.1%
II	-	27.8%
III	-	61.1%

C2

APPENDIX D

HANDOUTS

D1

The Graduate School and University Center
of the City University of New York

Center for Advanced Study in Education
Graduate Center 33 West 42 Street New York, N.Y. 10036

PREPARING WOMEN DOCTORAL STUDENTS FOR A COLLEGE TEACHING CAREER

Suggested Readings

Balancing Responsibilities

Crosby, Faye J. (1991). Juggling: The unexpected advantages of balancing career and home for women and their families. New York: Free Press.

Presentation Styles - Classroom Dynamics

Culley, Margo & Portuges, Catherine (1985). Gendered Subjects: The dynamics of feminist teaching.

Academic Scholarship: The Curriculum

Rosser, Sue V. (1986). Teaching science and health from a feminist perspective. New York: Pergamon Press.

Bronstein, Patricia A. & Quina, Katryn (1988). Teaching a psychology of people. Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association.

Politics of Systems

American Psychological Association's Committee on Women in Psychology (1992). Survival guide to academia for women and ethnic minorities. Washington, D.C.: APA.

The Casting Couch

Paludi, Michele A. (1990). Ivory power: Sexual harassment on campus. Albany, New York, SUNY Press.

Paludi, Michele A. & Barickman, Richard B. (1991). Academic and workplace sexual harassment: A resource manual. Albany, New York: SUNY Press.

Mentorships: Women Helping Women

O'Leary, Virginia E. & Mitchell, Judith M. (1990). Women connecting with women: networks and mentors in the United States. In Suzanne S. Lie & Virginia E. O':Leary (Eds.), Storming the tower: Women in the academic world. London: Kogan Page.

Miscellaneous

Katz, Montana & Vieland, Veronica (1993, 2nd Edition). Get Smart! New York, The Feminist Press at The City University of New York.

Study Finds Boys Receive 75% Of New Science Scholarships

By MICHAEL WINERIP NY Times 11/1/93

Three-fourths of the college scholarships in a new Federal program intended to encourage students to go into mathematics, science or engineering have been awarded to boys, according to a study released today by a research and advocacy group based in Cambridge, Mass.

A total of 352 boys and 84 girls received the scholarship money, which totaled $2.2 million, in the 1993-94 academic year, said the organization, the National Center for Fair and Open Testing.

The $4,000 annual scholarships from the National Academy for Science, Space and Technology were awarded solely on the basis of high school students' performance on a standardized test, the American College Testing Program Assessment.

The fair-testing center maintains that these standardized tests are biased against women and that awarding scholarships without taking into account other academic measures like grades further discourages girls from entering the sciences. On an average, males score 1.2 points higher on a 36-point scale than females on the ACT math section, which was the major determinant for the scholarships.

A Congressional Mandate

An official with the sciences academy said that in passing the legislation Congress had mandated that the scholarships be awarded solely on the results of a standardized test.

Officials at the academy wanted to make the scholarships available to students who took the Scholastic Assessment Test, or S.A.T., the largest college entrance examination, but the College Board, which administers the S.A.T., refused to take part in the program.

Ray Nicosia, a spokesman for the board, said officials did not believe that scholarships should be distributed solely on the basis of standardized test results.

In 1989, a Federal district judge overturned New York State's Regent scholarship program as biased against females because it relied solely on the S.A.T. Using only the S.A.T., 57 percent of the Regents scholarships went to boys, though boys accounted for only 47 percent of the test takers.

New York State then changed its method for selecting scholarship winners, taking into account grades as well. In 1990, for the first time in the Regents program, a majority of scholarships went to girls.

Under the sciences academy program, a scholarship is awarded to at least one student in each Congressional district.

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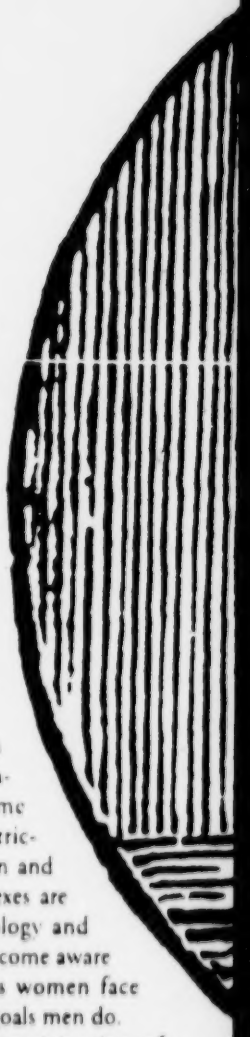
thesis

THE MAGAZINE OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY CENTER

Women in Law

Lifting the Glass Ceiling?



BY CYNTHIA FUCHS EPSTEIN

WOMEN LAWYERS WERE VERY VISIBLE DURING THE last presidential campaign. Two in particular reflected considerable ambivalence on the part of the American public because of their professional and private roles as well as their political ideas. There was Hillary Rodham Clinton, wife of the Democratic candidate, a partner in a Little Rock law firm, and a known activist for children's rights; and Marilyn Quayle, wife of the Vice-President, who retired from active practice to become an unpaid political advisor to her husband, and during his term of office, a volunteer worker for hurricane relief. These women were portrayed as having made dichotomous choices: the "career women" and the "stay-at-home helpmate," although each view was an incomplete caricature.

The approval and disapproval ratings for the life courses chosen by these women and other women lawyers active in professional life as attorneys in private practice, for the government, in corporations and political life, and those who have left public roles, reflects continuing judgment about women's assumption of multiple roles. I reported on some of these in a book, *Women in Law*, almost a decade ago. The book discussed research I had done on the obstacles women faced in being accepted as professional colleagues in a profession long known to be discriminatory, and on the problems women faced juggling careers and family and confronting traditional stereotypes. Preparing an epilogue for the republication of this book by the University of Illinois Press, I have sought to note the positive changes that have occurred in the past decade and the continued resistance to change that women lawyers face, as they have increased in number and gained visibility in society.

In the ten years since I last reviewed women's progress, women lawyers have been the focus of discussions in the media, law schools, and courtrooms. Five years ago the *National Law Journal* noted how "almost out of nowhere, women's issues—and their dissections of the myriad forms of gender bias—are suddenly dominating local bar magazines and newsletters, scholarly journals, and even the agenda at the American Bar Association's annual meeting...." We now see women lawyers demonstrating skill, shrewdness, morality, and ruthlessness like men in television series such as *L.A. Law*. In newspapers and magazines we read of the striking accomplishments of individual women, but also of the pressures women face in professional roles.

Varied and often conflicting impressions have been registered about how much the situation of women attorneys has changed. Some observers believe there are no longer any restrictions on women's attainment in the profession and that the differences remaining between the sexes are due to "natural causes" like women's physiology and their psychological preferences. Others have become aware of the many cultural and structural barriers women face when they attempt to pursue the professional goals men do.

While support for the growth in the participation of women in law comes from a generally liberal, equalitarian tradition, conservative elements continue to fault women for choosing work commitments that compete with their family roles. Many progressives want women to enter the legal profession in the hope they will transform it. On the other hand, there are feminists who, fearing that women will themselves be changed, do not see a gain in their absorption into the most aggressive profit-oriented spheres of the law—particularly in the large and prestigious firms that represent the highest level of success.

Clearly, the question of how well women are doing in the law and how far they have come depends, at least in part, on the perspective, values, and philosophy of the observer. I have been a professional witness of change in this profession. My research began 25 years ago when there was a broad feminist

CYNTHIA FUCHS EPSTEIN *is a Distinguished Professor of Sociology at The Graduate School*

D5 38

consensus on the goal of full participation of women in law. I believe that it is important to assess progress toward this goal in terms that have meaning both within the profession and the larger society.

The most visible and gross manifestations of discrimination against women in the law began to subside at the end of the 1960s, and the rapid growth of the legal profession in the '70s provided favorable conditions for their inclusion, especially with the progressive dismantling of educational barriers. At the beginning of the '80s, women represented about 40 percent of law school students, a proportion that increased slightly over the decade. This means that women were well on their way to becoming a sizeable percentage of the pool of younger lawyers. By 1990 women could be found in most specialties of law and in most types of practices. As before, their patterns of employment are somewhat different from men's, but these patterns are also different from those of women in the past. A large proportion of women attorneys now work for large

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firms—formerly forbidden territory—although at a rate lower than men. Women now make up more than a quarter of all the lawyers at the top 251 U.S. law firms and 11.2 percent of the partners (up from 3.5 percent in 1981). They are a presence in spheres in which, only one professional generation earlier, no women at all were seen—especially in corporate, litigation, and appeals work.

"Women are no strangers to 'double bind' situations in which they are faulted for appearing too feminine (say, smiling too much) on the one hand, and for a demeanor not regarded as feminine enough on the other."

As for the judiciary, the most recent available survey (made in 1985 by the Fund for Modern Courts) indicates that somewhat more than seven percent of state and federal judges are women. The limited number of women and minorities on the bench tends to be a reflection of these groups' political power. In another realm of the judiciary, the prestigious Supreme Court clerkships, women are doing rather better. In 1987, women actually won more clerkships than men, for the fifth consecutive year. It was clear that these numbers went beyond tokenism when one woman clerk, Anna Durand, could report: "Throughout my education I have been involved in classes and activities where men significantly outnumbered women. It wasn't until I clerked for Justice Blackmun that I was in a setting where there was a more equal balance between women and men, and realized how pleasant that can be." It remains to be seen whether the proportion of women clerks will continue to be high with the consolidation of conservative members on the high court.

In the 1990s it is now no longer unusual to find women squared off against each other in a courtroom, as defense attorney and prosecuting attorney; sometimes these cases are presided over by a woman judge. Many women attorneys represent women clients in sex discrimination suits and divorce actions, but they also defend business clients sued for sex discrimination and many now take cases of men in divorce and custody suits. There are no statistics on just how many women can be found on these various "sides," and although many women choose cases according to feminist or other ideological principles, others take cases where the work is. Like male lawyers, they assert that all sides have a right to representation, and they are doing the "right" thing as long as they act in accordance with professional norms. But whomever they represent, they are seen to range in personal style in court, on a continuum from a "white gloves" approach to "pit bulls," as some colleagues have characterized them. As for salaries, women in the same kinds of practice as men, and at the same levels, are now making 90 percent or more of what their male colleagues make. That means that in large firms in major cities some women partners are making six-figure salaries—over half a million dollars in some cases. But women make less than men on average because even at the same ranks they may have fewer clients or seniority and generally they cluster in lower-paying specialties, as do minorities.

Legal action has continued to be important in the '80s and '90s in breaking down barriers to women's advancement in the profession. A case brought by Elizabeth Hishon against a prestigious Atlanta law firm in which she had worked as an associate for seven years before being rejected for partnership proved to be a landmark. In May 1984 the Supreme Court ruled, in a decision by Chief Justice Warren Burger, that Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was applicable to partnership decisions. In essence, it put law firms on notice that their partnership decisions must be well reasoned and fair. Associate Justice Lewis Powell wrote in a concurring opinion that "neither race nor sex is relevant" in partnership decisions. A new norm had been set.

But what exactly constitutes discrimination? Women are no strangers to "double bind" situations in which they are faulted for appearing too feminine (say, smiling too much) on the one hand, and for a demeanor not regarded as feminine enough, on the other. The consequences of "informal" evaluations of a woman's femininity were scrutinized by the Supreme Court in 1989, in the case of *Price-Waterhouse v. Hopkins*. Hopkins, an accountant who had been turned down for a partnership by a "Big 8" accounting firm, claimed she was discriminated against because she did not conform to stereotyped feminine patterns of behavior; the sort of assertive behavior that would be viewed as acceptable for a man, she submitted, was considered offensive for her. As one member of the firm put it, her problems would be solved if she would "walk more femininely, wear make-up, have her hair styled, and wear jewelry." The justices were split 5-4 in the assessment. The majority opinion stated "it takes no special training to discern sex-stereotyping in a description of an aggressive female employee as requiring 'a course at charm school' [as one partner in the firm had told her]," and "if an employee's flawed interpersonal skills can be corrected by a soft-hued suit, or a new shade of lipstick, perhaps it is the employee's sex and not her interpersonal skills that has drawn criticism." Ultimately, Hopkins reached a settlement with Price-Waterhouse giving her partnership as a result of the litigation.

"There is little question that women still face a 'glass ceiling' that prevents them from rising to the very top of the legal profession, as they do in other male-dominated occupations."

There is little question that women still face a "glass ceiling" that prevents them from rising to the very top of the legal profession, as they do in other male-dominated occupations. Though the proportion of women partners has increased, few make it to the top executive committees of their firms. Moreover, the progress of women of different backgrounds, ethnic groups, and races is uneven. In 1989 there were 23,195 partners in the top 250 law firms in this country: 170 of them were black men and only 40, black women. In 1992 there were 287 minority partners (including black, Hispanic and Asian).There is considerable variation in acceptance of women and minority members by firms in different regions, although ranking shifts over time. Ranked at the top of the list for equal opportunity in a 1989 *National Law Journal* survey were Los Angeles, Washington, New York, Atlanta, Philadelphia, and Chicago. Ranked below average were Houston, Dallas, San Francisco, and Cleveland. But Boston moved upward by 1992 as did San Francisco, and both cities ranked at the top in numbers of women associates and partners.

On law school faculties, there has been a substantial increase in the number of women professors over the past decade. This is true even at the most prestigious schools, although they lagged somewhat behind the national average. A study for the Society of American Law Teachers conducted by Professor Richard Chused found that overall, full-time female law faculty members increased from 13.5 percent in the 1980-81 academic year to 24 percent at the end of the decade. In six of the top schools—Harvard, Yale, Stanford, the University of Virginia, Chicago, and Michigan—a disproportionate number of women faculty were teaching courses on sex discrimination, family law, and other subspecialties associated with women, but they also taught insurance law, ethics, tax, and other "gender-neutral" subjects. The Chused study concluded that about one-fifth of the law schools accredited by the Association of American Law Schools are not moving at an appropriate pace to add women to their regular teaching staffs, and that slightly less than two-fifths of "high prestige" law schools "are significantly behind the national pace ... and some schools are denying tenure to women at disproportionate rates."

Some women law professors whose feminist perspectives and work would not have been recognized in the profession in decades past have now been appointed to faculties of high prestige. Catherine MacKinnon, a Marxist feminist theorist who played an active role in attempting to devise a pornography ban in Minneapolis, visited on many faculties for years before obtaining a tenured appointment at the University of Michigan Law School in 1989. Martha Fineman, an authority on family law and a convener of yearly conferences on Women and the Law, left one highly regarded faculty, Wisconsin, for another, Columbia, in 1990. Many women law professors have been invited to "visit" top-tier law schools, presumably so they can be looked over as a preliminary to being offered an appointment.

The increase in the number of women students and faculty would seem to be a good indicator of the growing (but sometimes grudging) acceptance of women in the profession. But the good news is balanced by some bad news. Although many more women are appointed to law faculties, their retention is another matter. Certainly the tenure question is a difficult one. A good proportion of women law faculty are on non-tenure tracks, many of them in contract legal writing positions that have created a new kind of "women's job" pattern. In some cases, tenure decisions have involved contentious arguments within faculties about the basis for fair assessment of candidates. Heightened consciousness about the process has been engendered by a number of highly publicized cases in which tenure was granted or denied after such disagreements.

Of course, the more women represented on law school committees—particularly tenure committees—the better, presumably, the chances are for younger women to win a sympathetic hearing. This is especially true when the candidate's work centers on "women's issues," regarded by some male law professors as outside the traditional areas of law. The support tenured women faculty offer to their younger women colleagues is sometimes viewed cynically by their male colleagues. One male colleague of a woman faculty member at a prestigious law school described her work on the hiring committee to me in this way: "She hasn't encountered a woman she didn't think well of." It is probably true that many women faculty go out of their way to be responsive and open-minded about the women recruits who come before them. But they are certainly not of one mind—ideologically or otherwise—and can evaluate as stringently as men.

The problems women law professors face are not only posed by their colleagues. They often encounter critical behavior from their students as well. Testimony of about 60 witness-

"The argument is made that women's 'differences' mean they will subordinate ambition to family obligations—and will seek mediative styles of work—unless, that is, they act contrary to their nature and adopt the male model."

es presented to an ABA Commission on Women in the Profession in February of 1988 (chaired by Hillary Rodham Clinton) recounted numerous examples of hostility from male students, including bathroom graffiti and poor classroom evaluations—some because women do not conform to the "Professor Kingsfield" model popularized by *The Paper Chase*. This and other issues were raised when Harvard's Derrick Bell, a tenured black law professor, took an unpaid leave of absence to protest the faculty's failure to appoint a tenured black female professor, saying he would return only when one was appointed. (He has since been let go by Harvard.) At the time Regina Austin, a black woman and tenured professor at the University of Pennsylvania, was visiting Harvard Law School and was probably being considered as a candidate. Five hundred students turned out for a rally at which Bell announced his plan, and there were two overnight student sit-ins in the office of the dean of the law school. But the students were not of one mind. Some complained about Austin's teaching style and charged that "she had shown favoritism toward minority students and women." One student opined that "she's teaching more sociology than law." The first of these comments reflects little understanding of the fact that women and blacks rarely were recognized in class in the past. As for the second comment—hardly pejorative to my mind—Austin, like many other legal scholars today, is simply attempting to place law into its social context, which probably constitutes an important advance in legal analysis.

CONSIDERING THE BARRIERS FACING WOMEN LAWYERS in past decades, the recent changes in the legal profession are extraordinary. Yet critical scrutiny continues to uncover pervasive resistance to women in law and has brought it to the attention of members of the profession, including many women attorneys who in prior generations were either oblivious to or silent about the conditions that underlay their problems. The ABA Commission on Women in the Profession, mentioned earlier, issued a report noting that "Witnesses expressed their belief that women must still work harder and be better than men in order to be recognized and succeed.... Individuals also testified that women walk a fine line between being regarded as too feminine (and thus not tough, lawyerlike, or smart) or too tough (and thus unfeminine or not the kind of women male colleagues feel comfortable relating to)." A major study on sexism in the courts of New York found that women lawyers, clients, and judges face a range of discriminatory treatment that undermines both their dignity and their access to justice, concluding that "women are uniquely, disproportionately, and with unacceptable frequency made to endure a climate of condescension, indifference, and hostility."

The ways in which gender is made salient in the legal profession, as it is in other sectors of society, are myriad. Although both men and women are sensitive to objective forms of discrimination, the belief that the sexes possess different attributes has consequences for their interactions in the professional setting. Most stereotypes that in the past defined women as intellectually incompetent to engage in legal work have been dispelled. Yet today the debate regarding men's and women's emotional and moral make-up continues. Many references have been made in the past decade to a "male model" of organization and behavior that prescribed hard-driving ambition and dispassionate adherence to a "bottom line." Men are supposed to be comfortable with this model, but women are believed to be both temperamentally unsuited to it and unable to conform to it owing to their obligations as mothers and wives. The argument is made that women's "differences" mean they will subordinate ambition to family obligations and will seek mediative styles of work—unless, that is, they act contrary to their nature and adopt the male model. These simplistic arguments do not reflect the wide range of attitudes women bring to the law and the impact of exclusionary practices on their ambitions and behavior.

It is important to notice that the progress in women's participation in the legal profession has occurred mostly in times of economic prosperity. The beginning of the 1990s marked a downturn in the economy that may have a serious dampening effect on future gains. From 1980 to 1990 almost all large law firms increased in size, and many of the new lawyers hired were women. But if the start of the present decade is any indication, law firms in the '90s will be competing in a no-growth or possibly recessionary environment. Firms will hire fewer lawyers and be more particular about partnership decisions. The economic situation might not only have an impact on women's advancement in the large firms, but also in the firms' receptiveness toward special arrangements such as flexible schedules and part-time work for parents. One can only hope that because

D9 42 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

many women lawyers have proven their capabilities, their firms will nonetheless institutionalize the policies they initiated in the '80s to meet the demands of women and sympathetic men.

"My own analysis tends to give greater weight to the cultural and social factors that prevent women from encroaching on the domains men claim as their own..."

If the 1970s and early '80s were a time of subtle revolution, with women increasingly accepted into the male domains of the elite professions, the mid '80s and early '90s have been a time of consolidation. What will happen in the rest of this decade is far from clear. Law represents a continuing preferred option for a large percentage of able women college graduates, and law school classes have moved toward equal representation of men and women. Entering groups of associates in large firms similarly have had large percentages of women, and they are well represented in many other diverse spheres of practice—as government attorneys, corporate counsels, and in the judiciary.

But although a few women have reached the top level of the profession—as partners in large firms, as federal court judges (including one Supreme Court justice), and as professors in law schools—there remains a "glass ceiling" that differentiates women from men in their representation in the most prestigious positions in the law. This has been attributed to women's own preferences, their family obligations, their lack of taste for power, and to residual discriminatory practices in the legal establishment. My own analysis tends to give greater weight to the cultural and social factors that prevent women from encroaching on the domains men claim as their own, although I agree that some women do willingly accept conventional role assignments keeping them in professional positions beneath the most coveted level. For many women, the opportunity to do fulfilling professional work, even below the top rank, and to have a family life is a combination that provides satisfactions that were not possible for their mothers' or elder sisters' generation. But much of legal practice is performed in a context not hospitable to the integration of family and professional life. It is a situation that men as well as women find increasingly distressing, especially since many men are married to women who expect and demand equality in the home, and because the men themselves wish to have more balanced lives.

Still, the legal profession has changed, as have the men and women who practice law. The profession's accommodations to the needs of families is very much in its interest, considering that women constitute a growing proportion of the most talented professionals and because of the high investment made in them. Many observers think that the changes have been slow in coming and grudgingly conceded; and, as I have mentioned, there are concerns that the current economic downturn could diminish them.

Do women make a difference in the law? As more women become decision makers within the profession, they have been able to make many important issues visible and insist that they be addressed. The activity of women in changing the conditions of employment in law is only one area in which they have made a difference. Those women who have chosen law as a tool to achieve social change have also been effective. Many substantive changes in the law can be attributed to the consciousness of attorneys and the judiciary being heightened as a result of discussion in the profession activated by women within it. One of the more radical has been the reassessment of the "rule of the reasonable man," long a standard for measuring legal responsibility. Two federal court decisions in 1991 put forward a new standard, that of the "reasonable woman," in cases determining whether the atmosphere in a place of work was "pervasively hostile, offensive, or abusive, inflicting sexual harassment on a woman worker." This sensitivity to the problems women face in society and the need for legal institutions to recognize them in order to achieve justice has come about because of the endeavors of women legal thinkers and practitioners. Women attorneys and law professors have also worked on issues that were not even part of legal discussion a generation ago, such as surrogate parenting, fetal tissue transplantation, and reproductive rights.

Yet, as in the past, women legal practitioners cannot be depended on to lend unanimous support to "women's issues." As there are always attorneys on opposing sides of issues, there are women judges who may be found on opposite sides of such contentious questions as women's right to choose abortion, sexual harassment, and sex discrimination in employment. Perhaps this is a function of the "normalization" rather than co-optation of women by the system. One thing, however, is clear: As we have assessed women's participation in the legal profession, we have seen that law has provided the arena for one of the most extraordinary social experiments of the last century, marking women's capacity to prove themselves able intellects and workers at the highest professional level.

National Report

The New York Times SUNDAY, JANUARY 23, 1994

Asian-American Women Struggling To Move Past Cultural Expectations

When Jennifer Ng, who immigrated from Hong Kong as a child, was growing up in Manhattan, she said she believed she would never meet the expectations of her parents or society.

Her parents expected her to study hard, choose a safe, lucrative career, stay near Chinatown, marry and take care of the family. Society, she said, type-cast her as passive and industrious.

But even as Ms. Ng (pronounced ING) tried to meet these goals, she found herself doing other things. She boarded at Barnard College in upper Manhattan, rather than commute from home in Chinatown, as her family wished. Now 27, she is an investment consultant for Citibank, but she is also considering whether to apply to a business graduate school, even though she said her mother believed her energies would be better spent looking for a husband.

Discrimination and Isolation

"She tells me: 'You better stop being so independent, so outgoing,' " said Ms. Ng, who left Hong Kong in 1973. " 'That's why you have a problem finding a husband. This is the type of woman you should be: you should be very quiet and not express your opinions.' "

For people coming to the United States, culture clash is common. But racial discrimination often isolates Asian-Americans to a greater extent than other ethnic groups, say experts in Asian-American studies.

"No matter how hard you try, you can't blend in as someone of Euro-American heritage can," said Shirley Hune, associate dean of the graduate division of the University of California at Los Angeles. While immigrants of other ethnic groups typically assimilate by the second generation, Dr. Hune said, Asian-Americans whose families have been here three to five generations still get asked: "Were you born here?" and "Do you speak English?"

In the face of such isolation, Asian-Americans often retain a traditional emphasis on the family and the collective unit, which heightens the cultural conflict, said Dr. Setsuko Matsunaga Nishi, professor of sociology at Brooklyn College and the Graduate School of the City University of New York. "Even though they may not be taught in a conscious way, the socialization we undergo is such that we might feel guilty or ashamed if we don't fulfill those roles," she said.

Scott Robinson for The New York Times

"When you're a hyphenated American, you are kind of creating your own rules," said Yvette Herrera, the daughter of Filipino immigrants and president of the Asian Pacific Women's Network, a resource group in Los Angeles.

This tradition helps keep alive specific sexual roles and values, and that puts distinctive pressure on Asian-American women, said Dr. Peter Kwong, director of Asian-American Studies at Hunter College.

"The female role is to structure this family, and to maintain this family in terms of income, be responsible for the children's education," Dr. Kwong said. "It means subsuming your own ambitions and career for the family good. Because that's the way it's been traditionally, parents try to teach the kids. And that causes tremendous tension for the younger generation."

In interviews with 18 women of Asian descent around the country, the women spoke of feeling torn between reluctance to take on traditional roles and guilt over rejecting them, between the sense of independence American society offers and the sense of obligation they feel not only to their parents, but to their parents' cultural values. And even as they strive for independence, they confront a society that often type-casts Asian-American women as meek and submissive, as good workers but bad managers. It is a stereotype that all Asian-Americans face, says Dr. Nishi, but one that is particularly strong for women.

In every aspect of her life, says Helen Lee, the daughter of Korean immigrants, she has to work through the often conflicting ambitions. When she told her parents she was dropping her medical studies to become a minister, they could not understand why she wanted to pursue a field with such uncertain prospects. She and her parents did not speak for more than a month, she said.

"A lot of things you learn at home, you carry with you," said Ms. Lee, who said she has reconciled with her parents. "I was raised with one set of values and living in a world with another set."

For one thing, she is 24 years old and still single, a subject of humor for her parents but also growing concern.

Cultural Tensions

"They're more worried that I won't get married at all," said Ms. Lee, who is studying for her masters' degree in interdisciplinary studies, in communications and theology at Wheaton College in Illinois. "Twenty-five is the witching age for Korean women."

Ms. Lee's description of her struggles was echoed by other women interviewed. They say their parents want them to be trailblazers, yet specify the age a woman should be married, how much education she should have and what career she should pursue to allow enough time for husband and family.

While every woman's experience is different, these kinds of cultural tensions are most strongly felt by first- and second-generation Asian-Americans and tend to dissipate the longer a family has been in the United States, especially as the family income level rises, experts said.

"A young Vietnamese immigrant woman would be put last in order in terms of financing her education, that is, she could be expected to quit school if her younger brother came of college age" and the family could not afford to have two children in a university, said Dr. Audrey Yamagata-Noji, dean of student development at Rancho Santiago College in Santa Ana, Calif. But, he

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added, for a Chinese-American family who had been in the United States longer, the distinction between educating a daughter or a son would not be as great, especially if the family could afford to educate both.

Analysis of 1990 census figures show that 4.6 million Asian-Americans are foreign born, said Jeffrey Passel, a demographer with the Urban Institute in Washington, a research group. Along with the 2.7 million American born, Asian-Americans are the country's fastest-growing minority group, making up about 3 percent of the population, double the proportion in 1980.

As more women of Asian heritage pursue higher education and professional careers, they find themselves wrestling with similar issues, Dr. Kwong said.

Clinging to Old Values

The women, he added, are making different choices than those of their mothers, many of whom came to the United States to study in the 1950's or 1960's and opted for marriage and motherhood, rather than careers.

Paradoxically, the parents' attitudes often contrast with the social change occurring in Asia, said Elaine Kim, a professor of literature at the University of California at Berkeley and the author of "Asian American Literature: An Introduction to the Writings and Their Social Context" (Temple, 1984).

Dr. Kim said, for example, that some parents still disapprove of their daughters hugging or kissing in public, because that is the way it was in Korea in 1952.

Isolated in America, they do not realize "it's totally changed in Korea, at least in the cities," Dr. Kim said.

Preferential treatment for males can linger in subtle forms in Asian families, says Gay Wong, a professor of education at California State University at Los Angeles.

"You see families here now in the United States with American-born children, and the sons are still the inheritors of the property," Dr. Wong said. "You see in-laws baby-sitting the son's children, not the daughter's children."

Yvette Herrera, president of the Asian Pacific Women's Network, a nonprofit resource group based in Los Angeles, said board members frequently discuss the significance given to such simple things as moving out of the family home.

"Getting their own place is a huge deal, and these women have graduated from college, have their own careers," said Ms. Herrera, the daughter of Filipino immigrants, who lives with her husband in Burbank. "They are in their late 20's and early 30's."

Tensions With Parents

Ms. Herrera says her own tensions with her parents have ebbed as she grew older and staked out her own identity.

"When you're a hyphenated American, you are kind of creating your own rules," she said. "You're somewhere in the middle."

For Ms. Ng, the investment consultant, the cultural struggle was epitomized in fights with her parents over leaving Chinatown. She recalls that she had to leave Barnard College every weekend during her first year there to return to Chinatown, where she worked in a garment factory alongside her mother.

> The conflict of discarding parents' values.

The visits dwindled in her second year at college, as she explored new ideas and cultures. Even so, Ms. Ng returned home after she graduated. Her parents needed her income to get by, she said, and she had been taught that she had an obligation to take care of her family.

But she has consciously discarded other values her parents brought from China, Ms. Ng says, especially those concerning women.

She said her mother would tell her that liveliness and ambition, both of which Ms. Ng has in abundance, are not appropriate for a woman. Her mother, she said, even told her she wished she had been born a boy.

"'Why couldn't you be the boy?'" she recalls her mother saying. "'You have the perfect personality to be a boy.'"

Her mother, Ms. Ng noted, says that about herself as well.

Mary Gardella for The New York Times

"I was raised with one set of values and living in a world with another set," said Helen Lee, whose parents, Chin and Kum, rear, are Korean immigrants. They did not speak for a month when Ms. Lee announced plans to be a minister. "They're more worried that I won't get married."

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Data File

Average Salaries Of Full-Time Postsecondary Instructors, 1981-82 To 1991-92, In Current Dollars

Academic rank	1981-82	1985-86	1987-88	1989-90	1990-91	1991-92
Public four-year institutions	**$26,615**	**$34,033**	**$37,840**	**$42,365**	**$44,510**	**$45,638**
Academic rank						
Professor	34,080	43,044	47,917	53,870	56,668	57,947
Associate professor	25,975	32,642	36,272	40,663	42,742	43,778
Assistant professor	21,201	27,100	30,037	33,755	35,520	36,516
Instructor	16,754	20,895	22,637	24,820	26,134	26,724
Lecturer	19,121	23,862	26,057	28,658	29,956	30,221
No academic rank	21,081	25,142	27,195	30,975	32,349	33,946
Sex						
Men	27,880	35,786	39,898	44,834	47,168	48,401
Women	22,470	28,680	31,820	35,704	37,573	38,634
Public two-year institutions	**24,238**	**29,590**	**32,209**	**35,516**	**37,055**	**38,959**
Academic rank						
Professor	29,455	36,418	39,443	44,394	45,411	46,681
Associate professor	24,991	30,733	33,902	36,978	38,051	39,416
Assistant professor	21,032	26,162	28,523	31,634	32,673	33,869
Instructor	17,222	22,818	24,661	26,621	28,389	37,951
Lecturer	18,519	23,500	25,627	29,083	28,780	29,666
No academic rank	24,978	29,712	32,148	35,262	37,096	38,400
Sex						
Men	25,126	30,758	33,477	37,082	38,787	40,811
Women	22,669	27,693	30,228	33,307	32,721	36,517
Private four-year institutions	**24,695**	**31,732**	**35,355**	**39,817**	**42,224**	**44,793**
Academic rank						
Professor	33,269	42,260	47,126	52,858	56,127	59,508
Associate professor	24,070	30,486	33,739	37,921	40,122	42,515
Assistant professor	19,526	24,987	27,845	31,365	33,235	35,100
Instructor	15,664	19,483	21,645	24,361	25,159	26,786
Lecturer	18,188	23,574	25,793	30,041	31,053	31,424
No academic rank	17,721	23,394	26,190	28,756	31,122	33,072
Sex						
Men	26,174	33,900	37,817	42,595	45,319	48,042
Women	20,123	25,889	28,946	33,010	34,898	37,309
Private two-year institutions	**15,950**	**19,436**	**21,867**	**24,601**	**24,088**	**25,673**
Academic rank						
Professor	21,404	24,519	26,796	30,469	29,520	32,287
Associate professor	20,112	22,291	24,288	26,366	26,353	28,191
Assistant professor	16,271	19,297	21,481	24,788	24,587	25,477
Instructor	13,606	16,419	18,613	22,334	20,911	22,423
Lecturer	*	*	*	*	*	15,682
No academic rank	14,887	18,783	21,169	23,447	23,187	24,644
Sex						
Men	16,978	20,412	22,641	25,219	25,937	26,825
Women	14,882	18,504	21,215	24,002	22,585	24,683

Editor's note: Salaries are for faculty on 9- and 10-month contracts.
**Data unavailable.*
Source: Education Department, National Center for Education Statistics, "Salaries of Full-Time Instructional Faculty on 9- and 10-Month and 11- and 12-Month Contracts in Institutions of Higher Education, 1981-82 Through 1991-92," December 1993.

Boys Get Called On

NY Times Education Life 01/09/94

By Jillian Mincer

SUSIE Van Scoyk was stunned by the findings in a report on gender bias in schools. Mrs. Van Scoyk, a sixth-grade teacher in Arvada, Colo., a Denver suburb, couldn't imagine why teachers would discriminate against girls in the classroom. "I thought, truly, I don't do this," she said.

But a videotape taken several weeks later showed that she clearly gave more attention to the boys in her class and encouraged them more through words and gestures. "I was appalled," she said. "I saw that I really focused on the boys. The sexism was so subtle, that's what's so striking."

Nancy Hargert

Frequent Occurrence

Mrs. Van Scoyk's discovery was not unusual. Numerous studies now confirm what many educators have long suspected: gender bias still occurs frequently in America's classrooms two decades after the passage of Title IX, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex in federally funded school programs.

Girls receive significantly less attention from classroom teachers than boys do, according to "How Schools Shortchange Girls," a report commissioned by the American Association of University Women Educational Foundation. Gender bias undermines girls' self-esteem and often discourages them from taking math and science courses. The study also found that although black girls initiate teacher contact more than white girls, the black youngsters are more likely to

The report, conducted by the Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, added that the curriculum frequently ignores or stereotypes females and that many standardized tests contain elements of sex bias. "I think in general the lesson girls learn from this is that they're not encouraged to speak up or speak out," said Susan McGee Bailey, director of the Wellesley Center and the principal author of the A.A.U.W. report.

In their new book, "Failing at Fairness: How America's Schools Cheat Girls," published by Scribners, two American University professors, Myra and David Sadker, explain that because "gender bias is not a noisy problem, most people are unaware of secret sexist lessons and the quiet losses they engender."

Gender bias is still found in America's classrooms

Girls enter school ahead of boys in almost every subject except science, where boys have a slight edge, said Myra Sadker, dean of the School of Education. But girls graduate from high school behind in almost every subject. "The impact on girls is that they lose self-esteem as they go through school," she said. "They come in with so much promise, and there's a systematic robbery."

In their research, the Sadkers found that boys in elementary and middle school spoke out in class eight times more often than girls. Teachers generally listened to the boys who spoke out but told girls who did so to raise their hands if they wanted to speak.

Girls are being shortchanged in several areas, said Anne L. Bryant, executive director of the A.A.U.W. She said the lack of role models in education affected girls. Although 70 percent of teachers from kindergarten through 12th grade are women, only 27 to 30 percent are principals and only 5 to 6 percent are superintendents, she said.

The survey found that while boys and girls both experience a loss of self-esteem as they grow older, the loss is most dramatic among girls. A key finding of the 1992 report was that a relationship exists between self-esteem and enjoyment of math and science. Girls and boys who like those subjects have higher self-esteem and greater career aspirations, it concluded.

In response to the A.A.U.W. studies, a package of nine bills on gender equity and education was introduced in the House of Representatives last year. The omnibus package, H.R. 1793, addresses gender bias in the schools, calling for the establishment of an office of women's equity in the Department of Education, equity training for teachers, efforts to improve girls' achievement and participation in math and science. It also includes provisions to eliminate sexual harassment in schools. Another bill would require schools to disclose their expenditures on men's and women's athletics.

Diane Ravitch, an assistant secretary of education in the Bush Administration and now a visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution, opposes the bills. "You can't say schools are biased against girls when boys are having a harder time in schools," she said. "The data show that women have made remarkable success in education."

But David Sadker, noting that statistics and studies can be interpreted many ways, said, "The key numbers suggest slow progress but a substantial problem remaining." ■

NY Times
01/03/94

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Clarion (PSC Newsletter November 1993)

Sociologist sees gains for women in law

by Trudy Whitman

Were Ruth Bader Ginsburg, Janet Reno and Judith Kaye anomalies or the beginning of the end for male dominance at the highest levels of the legal profession? For some, 1993 has indeed been a remarkable year in women's fight for equality. Others view events more cautiously.

Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, Distinguished Professor of Sociology at the Graduate School, has been an observer of the status of women in the legal profession for 25 years. At this point in women's struggle for achievement and recognition in law, she says, the "glass ceiling" can accurately be described as "highly permeable." In the preface to the new edition of her book, *Women in Law*, published earlier this year, Prof. Epstein calls her view "a more affirmative perspective" than one held today by many women in the legal profession. She goes on to say that many young women in this and other professions hold "pessimistic views based on expectations of greater equality than they observe. These views are often not informed by the perspective of history which would indicate a sense of progress rather than discouragement."

D16

The impact of gender ideology

To Prof. Epstein, a study of the history of women in law offers irrefutable evidence that great strides have been made. It also indicates, however, that, due to the age-old barrier of gender stereotyping, women have not yet achieved equal footing with men in the profession.

From the time she became interested in sociology, Prof. Epstein was intrigued by the institutionalized exclusion of women from jobs that were high in prestige and remuneration and the impact of gender ideology in defining why work may be seen as "male" or "female."

For her doctoral dissertation at Columbia University in 1968, she decided to study women in law. Her research was based on a sample of attorneys practicing in the New York area, and her work revealed what she described as a "grim picture."

Distinguished Professor of Sociology Cynthia Fuchs Epstein.
Photo: Karyn Anthony

'Women have been extraordinary in changing the law, particularly criminal law.'

A chronicler and observer

At the same time that she was researching women's role in the law, she was active in the women's movement, helping to establish the New York chapter of the National Organization for Women. She had the opportunity to work with individuals, such as Betty Friedan, and organizations that were instrumental in changing the status of women in American society.

"I was both a chronicler and an observer," she says, "and what I began to observe was dramatic change—the distribution of women into all kinds of spheres from which they had been excluded at the time I did my dissertation."

Women in Law, first published in 1981, was based on the ten years of research which followed her dissertation. According to Prof. Epstein, the "grim picture" was being replaced by an "optimistic view."

After decades of stasis, the number of female lawyers in the U.S. grew from 13,000 in 1970 to 62,000 in 1980 (from 4 percent to 12.4 percent). Today women make up more than a quarter of all the lawyers at the top 251 U.S. law firms. In the 1991-92 academic year, the number of women first-year law students was more than 57,000 or 42 percent. In 1971, women accounted for just 9.4 percent of that group.

Partnerships still elusive

The dramatic advances are somewhat undercut by other numbers. For example, women make up only 11.2 percent of the partnerships in legal firms. Prof. Epstein says that the relatively low percentage of female partners may be attributable to the "discomfort" still felt by many at seeing women in high management positions and to the fact that partnerships are usually awarded to senior members of firms. Women's late entry into the field means that there are fewer eligible older women. She adds that these positions have traditionally been "rewards" for a lawyer's "business-getting" ability, and women are still seen as disadvantaged when it comes to cutting deals in the "old boy" manner—on the golf course or at "power" luncheons.

No particular female 'style'

Sometimes, however, it is the woman's choice to forgo the partnership track. "For many women," explains Prof. Epstein, "the opportunity to do fulfilling professional work, even below the top rank, and to have a family life is a combination that provides satisfactions that were not possible for their mothers' or elder sisters' generations." But, she cautions emphatically, the argument that some make that women are temperamentally suited to certain tasks and unfit for others is fallacious and damaging. "Women's cognitive capacities and emotional lives are really not different than men's," she says. She adds that these stereotypes are convenient mechanisms for explaining away differential treatment, but that her research has not revealed any particular female "style." "In fact," she says, "I see quite a distribution of styles from 'white glove' to 'pit bull.'" Moreover, women have a significant presence "in spheres in which, only one professional generation earlier, no women at all were seen—especially in corporate, litigation, and appeals work."

The epilogue to the 1993 edition of *Women in Law*, written with the assistance of a PSC-CUNY grant, notes the gains made by women on law school faculties over the past ten years. Prof. Epstein reports that the number of women law professors increased substantially during that period, from 13.5 percent of full-time faculty in the 1980-81 academic year to 24 percent at the end of the decade.

Women law faculty

But Prof. Epstein is quick to stress that one must look beyond the numbers for a true reading of the status of women in law schools: "Although many more women are appointed to law faculties, their retention is another matter. A good proportion of women law faculty are on non-tenure tracks, many of them in contract legal writing positions that have created a new kind of 'women's job' pattern."

Where does the CUNY Law School fit into this picture? Prof. Epstein calls the institution "unique," saying that the 21 women on its 34-member full-time faculty is a disproportionate number because the school is "very oriented toward inclusion of minorities and women, and considers itself very socially conscious."

Influencing the law itself

Women's struggle for inclusion in the practice and teaching of law are only two of the areas in which they have had impact. Prof. Epstein is also very much interested in the way in which women have influenced the laws themselves: "Women have been extraordinary in changing law, particularly criminal law. The rape laws have been affected and there is a greater consciousness about crimes such as battering. All of these are new issues which have come to the

Sociologist sees gains

(Continued from page 9)

floor because of women lawyers paying attention to them and being situated in a place where they can make policy."

Prof. Epstein's research on workplace culture and her analysis of the social construction of gender in society and in scholarly work have led to many prestigious appointments, grants and fellowships. She has held a Guggenheim Fellowship and was a Fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University. From 1982 to 1988, she was a Resident Scholar at the Russell Sage Foundation. She has also been co-director of a National Institute of Mental Health training grant on the Sociology and Economics of Women and Work, and was co-director of the Program on Sex Roles and Social Change at Columbia University. Prof. Epstein has served as a consultant to the White House under two administrations and at the National Academy of Sciences. On four occasions she was a Fellow of the MacDowell Colony in Peterborough, New Hampshire.

In addition to *Women in Law*, Prof. Epstein has published four books: *Deceptive Distinctions—Sex, Gender, and the Social Order* (1988), *Access to Power: Cross-National Studies of Women and Elites* (1981); *The Other Half: Roads to Women's Equality* (1971); *Women's Place: Options and Limits on Professional Careers* (1970).

Cynthia Fuchs Epstein says that she felt it was important to make *Women in Law* available to a new generation of women in the field. In the preface to the 1993 edition, she says that she remains "optimistic, although somewhat cautiously so" about the future: "Incredulity and outrage may still be directed against women attorneys, but fewer find support for such views....The story of women in the legal profession—the extraordinary changes they have experienced and have helped achieve and the enormous variety of styles and preferences they exhibit—is as good an illustration as can be found of the fallacies of sex and gender stereotyping."

Trudy Whitman is a freelance writer.

D18

ONDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1993 The New York Times

Patents | Teresa Riordan

A study says women tend to have a different creative flair than men.

WASHINGTON

DO men and women tend to invent different things?

Autumn Stanley, an independent scholar from Portola Valley, Calif., who has been studying the question for 15 years, says she thinks so.

In a statistical paper she delivered yesterday to the Society for the History of Technology, Ms. Stanley argued that women were more likely to invent in the fields of health and medicine than in other areas.

"Beyond that, safety, comfort, ease, well-being — making daily life better is a preoccupation with women," Ms. Stanley said in a recent interview.

Ms. Stanley's statistical snapshot of 1977-88, for example, showed that while women on average were listed as the inventors or co-inventors of 3.6 percent of all patents granted, almost 16 percent of molecular biology and microbiology patents listed women as inventors.

Inventions Obscured

She found in a similar analysis of the period from 1790 to 1873 that while women were the inventors of less than one-half of 1 percent of all patents, they invented or helped invent 25 percent of dish-washing machines, 23.6 percent of ointments, and 25 percent of parasols.

In the course of her research, Ms. Stanley found that the compilations of women inventors made in the late 19th century for the Patent Office centennial and the Chicago Columbian Exposition systematically obscured women's inventions under domestic classifications.

Harriet Strong's storage-dam-and-reservoir system for the Colorado river is classified under "culinary utensils," according to Ms. Stanley. "This same category, incidentally, contains an oven, a cooking stove, a portable foot-warmer, a body- and bed-warmer, to say nothing of an incubator for baby chicks," she wrote in her paper.

Ms. Stanley, who recently published a 1,165-page history of women and technology, argued that tracking patents was not an entirely effective way of establishing women's inventive contributions.

A Target of Academics

"Women invent things all the time just in solving their daily problems of life, but they don't get patents on them," she said. "They don't think to commercialize their inventions. They tell their friends, they tell their neighbors. They write in to the household hints section of the newspaper."

Ms. Stanley acknowledged that her polemical history — which she called "compensatory" and a "crusade to set the record straight," but which others might label revisionist — might make her the target of some academic tomato-throwing.

"I'm sure there will be controversy over this book, because I do attempt to do away with all the comfortable preconceived ideas about what constitutes invention," she said. Not too many members of the academic establishment, she added, "are going to receive with applause my contention that women were the first chemists and engineers as well as architects."

Ms. Stanley's book, "Mothers and Daughters of Invention: Notes for a Revised History of Technology," is published by the Scarecrow Press of Metuchen, N.J.

New Sports Brassiere Offers More Support

Sheryl C. Unsworth, a marketing director in Manhattan, has never heard of Autumn Stanley, but she has her own feminist take on invention.

"I was talking to my friend, May, about how men do most of the inventing and how they never invent anything for women," Ms. Unsworth said. "And May said, 'What would you invent for women?' And I said, 'I see women jogging by all the time and holding their breasts. I'd invent a bra that really prevents the jiggling.'"

Thus was born the Protective Athletic Sports Bra, for which Ms. Unsworth and May N. Moy Au, an artist who also lives in New York City, received a patent last month.

Although a plethora of brassieres for exercising are on the market, many women echo Ms. Unsworth's sentiment that none of them makes running and jumping an entirely comfortable pursuit.

The two inventors said their brassiere gives superior support in part because it has a double layer of cotton and Lycra material in front and reinforcement gussets on the side.

Its main features, however, are two rubber-covered plastic cups with air holes. The cups can be inserted from the bottom between the two layers of material in front.

The rigid plastic holds the breasts in place, while the rubber acts as a sort of shock absorber, Ms. Unsworth said.

"When you put in the cups, your breasts are totally stabilized," said Ms. Unsworth, who does not jog but wears the brassiere when she plays volleyball.

The inventors also said the brassiere would offer protection during contact sports like field hockey, basketball and football.

"Boys in school sports have been required for years to wear protective cups for the groin area," Ms. Unsworth said. "Why shouldn't girls get similar protection" for the breast area?

Ms. Unsworth and Ms. Moy Au, who are looking for a company to market their product, received patent 5,244,432.

Patents are available by number for $3 from the Patent and Trademark Office, Washington, D.C. 20231.

Shayna Brennan for The New York Times

Autumn Stanley, center, speaking yesterday on the differences in wha men and women invent at the Society for the History of Technology

Getting Hired at a Teaching College

Sandra Z. Keith

St. Cloud State University, with close to 15,000 students, is one in a battery of six state universities in Minnesota. This perhaps contributes to the fact that we are not a household name as colleges go. Nevertheless, in many ways, we have a finger on the pulse of the average student, pay attention to trends in education, and are strongly motivated to move forward. Public-directed institutions tend to have public goals. This, plus the fact that we are a former normal school, contributes to our emphasis on excellence in teaching. We accept the upper 50% of the graduating class, and most of our students are first generation in college, hard-working, holding jobs, and ill-prepared. We are, in other words, known to Ph.D.-granting institutions as a "teaching college." We are also the type of college most Ph.D. advisors hope their students will not settle for, and that, to many, has come to be regarded as a natural repository for their research "failures," all of whom are "excellent teachers."

Recently we completed a search and, like many schools, had a record number of highly qualified applicants. Most of us on the search committee conceded that we ourselves would not have gotten jobs under the pressure of this competition. One can hardly offer the proper words of condolence to the many candidates who have chosen to spend years of their lives in one of the most difficult fields, only to be turned down.

However, as a member of that search committee, I would like to offer some feedback that might be helpful to candidates, their advisors, and their schools. Sometimes it is a matter of small things a candidate can do; in other places, it becomes a criticism of ivory tower aspects of graduate schools that have a casual disregard for placing their students at schools like ours, in spite of the fact that candidates might want to come.

Job Description

Affirmative action rulings dictate that this is all-important; however, at a teaching school, there may be intangibles that are not reducible to area specialty, causing the description to be loosely framed. Call or write to ask if you have questions about our description. Perhaps we must fill a need for teaching a course, want to drum up a student clientele in an area in which we wish to expand, or are seeking someone who is compatible with, or complementary to, the faculty on hand. Look at our catalogue in your library, but, by all means, ask.

Teaching

Most candidates now submit a letter outlining their personal philosophy of teaching. This is valuable, but many statements are so routine (and some use the same key phrases) that one might almost suspect that a master form is going around. A school like ours is impressed by contact hours, personal engagement with students, and a sense of the reality—not the myths—about student learning. It is not enough to have an excellent philosophy of teaching; supporting letters should document that this philosophy is acted on and continually thought about.

Candidates usually include results from teaching evaluations; we appreciate seeing raw scores and an interpretation. Remember to inform us of the grading scale—a "1" can mean excellent or poor. Low scores seem honest (we've all had them); but by any account, it would be helpful to see included in the teaching philosophy statement, a self-evaluation from the candidate. This might discuss successes or areas in which the candidate wants to improve. Schools with an overall coordinator of teaching assistants and a formal method for reporting individual scores in context are doing their students a favor. Scores reported by the hand of the candidate do not seem to carry the same forcefulness. (We notice, incidentally, that almost all schools with such a system find their teaching assistants' scores higher than those of the faculty.) Schools that provide their students with awards, certificates of merit, letters of thanks from the chair, etc., appear to be especially conscientious about their teaching standards. Nevertheless, most schools have lackluster evaluation forms that do not give specific information about teaching capability and energy, but rather inform about the "likability" of the candidate—something that can also be associated with easy grading. The same applies to individual comments from evaluations such as, "This is the best teacher I ever had." Comments like these are to be prized by the teacher, but in the flood of applications are not necessarily given much credence by the search committee. Candidates might consider designing their own (additional) evaluations, and asking for them to be approved, collected, and interpreted by a faculty member. Then there is the Brown University system, in which students intelligently comment on results of student summaries and publish these results. This is formidable perhaps, but highly impressive.

Letters by faculty evaluating teaching are perused seriously. These letters are most useful when they discuss specifics of teaching style. Candidates should know that in this day of open letters, it is rare to encounter a negative letter. A friend of mine says that at his (first-rate) institution, "good" is a condemnation—they look for the word "excellent." Schools also get their reputations from these letters. One excellent school sent forward several candidates with one-line references to their teaching, stating that, as well as they could gather, the candidate looked like a good teacher for a teaching college. We felt sorry for these abandoned candidates.

Computer Experience

It is probably a good idea for any graduate student to have some experience with computers, and it is particularly exciting to see a teaching assistant given the opportunity to experiment with calculator or computer algebra systems in the classroom. Candidates should list in depth their experience with computers and include their teaching experiences in their personal philosophy statement. (This may be a loaded issue at some colleges, however, so go carefully.)

Research

Most candidates have a teaching reference and a research reference. Advisors frequently claim that the candidate's research gives a world-class result. This is nice, but our search committee often had difficulty, in fact, understanding the advisor's commentary on the research. The candidate or advisor might offer a condensation, in layperson's terms, regarding what areas of

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Please supply three letters of reference

With the 1993–94 academic hiring season now fully underway, mathematicians fortunate enough to have a faculty position are likely to find themselves asked to write letters of reference for their students. For those of you who face this task, and are finding yourself at a loss as to what to say, FOCUS presents the following sample letter. We think it speaks for itself.

Dear Search Committee Chair,

I am writing this letter for Mr. John Smith, who has applied for a position in your department. I should start by saying that I cannot recommend him too highly.

In fact, there is no other student with whom I can adequately compare him, and I am sure that the amount of mathematics he knows will surprise you.

His dissertation is the sort of work you don't expect to see these days. It definitely demonstrates his complete capabilities.

In closing, let me say that you will be fortunate if you can get him to work for you.

Sincerely,

A.D. Visor (Prof).

Mathematics Awareness Week 1994

"Mathematics and Medicine"

April 24-30, 1994

Mark your calendars now and plan to observe Mathematics Awareness Week in your area, institution, or organization. With the theme of Mathematics and Medicine, Mathematics Awareness Week provides an excellent opportunity to celebrate the beauty and power of the mathematical sciences. Please do your part to promote public awareness of mathematics from Sunday, April 24—Saturday, April 30, 1994. Look for further information from the Joint Policy Board for Mathematics, national sponsor of Mathematics Awareness Week, in future issues of FOCUS.

expertise are involved, what courses the candidate can teach, his or her future prospects in research. It is useful to know about the energy and independence of the candidate.

Candidates today cannot assume that a "teaching" college is not interested in research, especially as departments like ours, catering to the needs of our students, become more applied. However, the term "research"—for us, not all colleges—is still loosely enough defined that scholarly activity is given substantial weight. Here, it seems to me, many Ph.D.-granting institutions fail their students. Most graduate students do not know about student mathematics competitions and have had no experience trying to obtain grants or work with students conducting research. They are unfamiliar with mathematics teaching journals and newsletters, in which publications (at our school) would be acknowledged. More importantly, if students would glance at these journals, they would be more informed about the trends which we are having to deal with. Nor have most graduate students been involved in curriculum reform, worked with underrepresented groups, or remedial coursework, etc. Enterprising graduate students might consider doing this on a volunteer basis, but it would seem that the entire university would benefit if graduate students were given mentoring responsibilities, exposure to the grant-hunting process, and administrative experience in some of these activities. Far from distracting graduate students from their research, these opportunities are empowering and broadening; they prepare students realistically for what they will have to be doing when they graduate. Talks at regional MAA meetings and presentations at the school itself are also given credit; graduate students should take advantage of these opportunities. It may be a cliché, but we are primarily looking for leadership.

Interview

Lastly, at the interview stage, candidates should understand that the college, like a sports team, is looking for a personal match, and a rejection is probably not at all personal. (This is easy to say, difficult to hear.) In preparing, candidates should request the school bulletin and they should come with questions. At our school, a talk for faculty and students is given significant weight because this is the opportunity for the department as a whole to give comments on the search committee's choices. A candidate might justifiably wonder how to plan a talk for faculty and first-year students in the same room—my personal advice is not to aim too low. A description of one's research is a good topic if it doesn't become glib through the need to arch over the details. A good talk is frequently a smaller related topic, similar to the articles in the MAA teaching journals. For us, the topic need not contain original results, but if it leaves us with questions, we will leave the room thinking. In the actual interview with the search committee at our school, questions must pass critical approval from the affirmative action officer and must be asked in the same way of all candidates. The candidate might be asked about experiences teaching women, minorities, and the handicapped, as well as questions about good and bad experiences in teaching, willingness to teach service courses, a plan for balancing research and teaching, and five-year goals. The main question is: How will the candidate fit with us? and, while past performance is a measuring rod, the forward-looking candidate has the advantage.

Sandra Z. Keith teaches in the Department of Mathematics and Statistics at St. Cloud State University in St. Cloud, Minnesota.

Persistent Sexism in American Education

Why So Few Women Physicists?

By Mary Raffalli

COLUMBIA University is unusual because it has one woman on the faculty in its physics department. Most universities in the United States have none. Last spring Elena Aprile, an associate professor of physics at Columbia with a strong independent streak, was unanimously recommended for tenure. "I call it a miracle," she said. "I'm very proud."

But for now, at least, the miracle is on hold.

Dr. Aprile said a recent change in administration has caused her bid for tenure to be delayed. "I am not satisfied with how things are going. When I talked to a colleague about it he asked: 'Why do you need an increase? You have a husband. Why do you have to rush?' It makes you think that the delay is connected to gender. Officially they say that's nonsense, but I can't help but wonder, if I were a man would it have happened faster?"

Eduardo Macagno, dean of Columbia's Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, denied that any sex discrimination was involved and said the tenure decision was simply being held for further review.

Dr. Aprile, though not happy about the delay, said she was confident she would eventually be approved. But whatever the outcome, problems persist for women trying to break into science faculties — particularly physics — on campuses across the country.

Women are more commonly represented in the humanities than the sciences, though even in humanities they do not match their male colleagues in number. In 1989, women accounted for about 30 percent of academics employed in humanities departments. But they represented only 18 percent of those in the science and engineering departments.

Regardless of academic field, women are less likely to receive tenure than their male counterparts, and on average are paid less. Betty Vetter, the executive director of the Commission on Professionals in Science and Technology, says it takes women two to three years longer than men to receive tenure once they become eligible, and two to six years longer than men to become eligible.

Women have trouble breaking into science faculties

In physics the discrepancies are even greater. Both male and female physicists describe hostile, demoralizing environments of male camaraderie and female isolation. "Departmental faculty are largely male and are more likely to give him tenure and decide that she hasn't quite proved herself yet," Dr. Vetter says.

The American Association of University Professors says women comprised 30 percent of faculties in 1992, but only 3 percent of physics faculties. Of 20 developed nations studied by the National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences, America tied with South Korea for the least women on physics faculties. In France and Italy women accounted for 23 percent; in Hungary nearly half the physics faculty were women. American Institute of Physics data showed more than half of American physics faculties had no women.

The National Research Council has found that American women physicists consistently earn less than male counterparts and that the disparity increases as experience increases. In 1992 a woman in physics earned 85 percent of a man's starting salary, one of the largest gaps in the sciences.

Explanations for the paucity of women on American physics faculties range from the physiological to the sociological. But the physiological factors are a matter of continuous dispute. Some scientists studying hormonal influences on brain function conclude that men as a group have innate neurological patterns of ability that tend to make them more capable in physics than women. But others say these studies fail to prove significant brain differences or, if minor differences do exist, that they result in different aptitudes.

© M. Hamilton/The New York Times

"I call it a miracle," said Dr. Elena Aprile of Columbia University, on her being recommended for tenure — but the miracle is on hold.

No Encouragement

Female students have tended to score lower than males on standardized math aptitude tests. Still, one Federal Department of Education study shows that when math scores were the same, nearly twice as many males pursued physics as females. Female students with a physics aptitude are often not encouraged or recruited. Sheila Tobias, a political science lecturer, says women often do not possess the characteristics males feel are essential — that is, a certain manner and sense of being consumed by science to the exclusion of all else. Women are often seen as outsiders, Ms. Tobias said, and "Scientists are deeply prejudiced against non-in-group types. So the problem isn't women as women but women as a subset of the out-group."

Difficulty in getting tenure

Continued on page 28

NY Times
Education Life

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Continued from page 26

may itself discourage women from entering the field. "Tenure is quite a subjective thing," said Dr. Kay Kinoshita, who left Harvard last year for a tenured position at Virginia Polytechnic Institute. "There is plenty of room for discrimination because it's based on pseudo-objective criteria, like the quality of the person's research — not just the research, but its quality." And since the advancement process can be nebulous, discrimination suits are rarely successful. When women complain about sex bias, Dr. Kinoshita said, "They are perceived to be blaming some other inadequacy on that."

But as more women do manage to enter academic physics, some universities are noticing sex-bias concerns and are trying to address them. Dr. Stewart Smith, chairman of the physics department at Princeton University, said, "We know that the male students and faculty have not been supportive of women students and we are trying to raise the consciousness of our faculty."

To alleviate anxiety, Dr. Smith said, physics professors are trying to keep courses as informal and interactive as possible. "I've seen evidence of this many times in classes," he said, "when, even if the man has the wrong answer he will just open his mouth and say it, whereas the woman will be more concerned and careful before participating even when she has the right answer."

Conversely, Dr. Smith said, it is hard for older male professors to advise young women about what they can expect and how to adjust, since he and many other senior staff members were students at a time when family roles and structures were dramatically different. "It makes it very difficult for older males to relate to the situations young women face. And they probably don't identify with us very well either."

Setting a Precedent

Dr. Aprile says one of her goals is to help establish a precedent for young girls like her daughter, Susanna, who is 9 years old. Four years ago, when she was pregnant with her second daughter, Giulia, she not only continued to teach throughout the pregnancy but, one month after the baby was born, she submitted a research proposal to develop a gamma-ray telescope for NASA. She said the experience was grueling, but she took pride in achieving what no male colleague could:

"I can put together a big proposal, which was accepted, and I can have a baby. They should be jealous." ■

American Mathematical Monthly, Vol. 101, No. 2 Feb 1994

COMMENTS

The only way to get rid of responsibilities is to discharge them.
—Walter S. Robertson

Dear Professor X:

I was disappointed that you refused to write a letter for our candidate's tenure case. I was even more disappointed because you waited to tell me until *after* the deadline.

You said you were too busy to write. I *know* you are busy this summer. That's why I wrote to you more than two months in advance to ask whether you would write. I sent you the Curriculum Vitae along with detailed instructions about the nature of the letter and the date it was due. I promised to send you copies of the candidate's papers as well. When you agreed (after a telephone call), I sent those papers promptly. That's proper etiquette for such requests—ample time and ample information.

That was *my* responsibility. Now here is *yours*: When you agree to write, you should do so. Your letter ought to contain enough information to make it clear you have read and judged at least a small portion of the candidate's work. It should contain a short opening paragraph that sets the stage for your specific comments, and it should end with one or two summary sentences that help to guide the reader (and give people preparing the case some quotable sentences). Such letters do not have to be long, nor do they have to contain exquisite detail. They should contain honest opinion, based either on your knowledge of the candidate's written research or your personal contact. And the "letter" needs to be a *signed* letter . . . not an email message or a paragraph dictated to my secretary.

Are there too many requests for such letters? Absolutely—and I'm doing my best to persuade deans and college committees that fewer letters will serve the pupose just as well. But *some* letters will always be necessary in a profession with a system of tenure and promotion like ours.

Writing letters has been a part of our profession for most of this century. Quite likely, a half dozen or so mathematicians took time to write such letters for you in the past. Quite likely, they were busy people as well.

Our profession has been infected by the me-generation philosophy of the 1980's. Writing letters of recommendation, refereeing papers, reviewing grant proposals—for many these are activities without personal profit, and hence (according to the philosophy) without reward. You are not alone: increasing numbers of mathematicians view professional service as the sort of activity other (less busy) people ought to do. Requests for recommendations and referee reports often draw no response—or worse, no results. When most people subscribe to this philosophy, our profession will face a crisis.

I will make phone calls and send email to solicit another letter. It will be hard to find someone else to write, especially since I will have to ask that person to write in a matter of weeks or even days. I *will* find someone, however. And you might find it surprising that the person who finally *does* write the letter turns out to be . . . just as busy as you.

—John Ewing

D25 66

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, JANUARY 18, 1994

Women Scientists Lagging in Industry Jobs

WASHINGTON, Jan. 17 (AP) — Women working as scientists and engineers are making little rogress in breaking into industry, nd a Federal research council says ompanies are largely to blame.

The National Research Council, an rm of the National Academy of Sciences, convened a conference a year igo to determine why women make ip 45 percent of the work force but nly 12 percent of the scientists and ngineers working in industry.

A report issued by a research coun-il committee last week said that women s must contend with sexist attitudes and unequal pay and that companies are doing little to help them juggle a career and family.

"I thought surely things were getting better, but when I saw the statistics I was amazed," said Dr. Betsy Ancker-Johnson, a retired vice president at the General Motors Corporation and an engineer who helped prepare the report.

"The message is for companies to take advantage of the talent that's available," she said. "But also for women: don't forget you're going to work your tail off."

Women tend to choose careers in life sciences, behavioral sciences and social sciences, fields in which industry plays a fairly small part, the report acknowledged. In 1989, 75 percent of science degrees awarded to women were in those fields, as against 46 percent for men.

But the research council said other factors were also at work, including these:

¶The median salary of female scientists with bachelor's degrees and up to two years' experience was 73 percent that of their male colleagues in 1990, $21,000 vs. $29,500. Those with doctorates made 88 percent of the median male salary, $35,500 vs. $40,400. Salary discrepancies also existed among women of different races.

¶Female scientists are twice as likely as men to leave industry for academic or government work. They also quit twice as often as their female counterparts in government. That ratio remains the same regardless of whether the women are married or have children.

¶Companies make it difficult for women to learn about job openings because scientific jobs are often filled through "good old boy" networks.

¶Women are subjected to paternalism by a vanguard of older male scientists. One woman reported that a male oceanography professor had told her, "Women can only count plankton," not do in-depth research.

¶Corporations do little to accommodate female scientists with children. The council recommended that companies offer quality day care and flexible work schedules so women could return to the laboratory quickly and do not lose their edge by taking a long maternity leave.

"You can drop in and out of other careers, but if you're trying to be on the leading edge of science you just can't do that," Dr. Ancker-Johnson said. "An employee that is confident the child is getting good care will be more productive."

The report advised companies to emulate programs started by six concerns: the Xerox Corporation, Alcoa, the Aerospace Corporation, A.T.& T. Bell Laboratories, Scios Nova and Barrios Technology.

Among other things, they established scholarships and mentorships to recruit women, publicized job openings, equalized salaries, developed maternal leave policies and held frequent meetings to gather feedback from female scientists.

At the biotechnology firm Scios Nova, the report noted, a black woman who is a vice president is among the five highest-paid employees, and women earn the highest bonuses in its incentive program.

D26

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67

68

Science vs. Women — A Radical Solution

By Shirley M. Tilghman

Science, like all human activity, has its individual cultural milieu. The culture of science evolved in a period when it was being practiced exclusively by men, and that has greatly influenced the outcome. It is a men's game and it continues to be played by men's rules.

Although we would like to believe that scientists are driven by a desire to understand some aspect of the natural world, in fact they are also driven by a desire for personal recognition. Sociologists of science like Robert Merton have identified this need for personal recognition as a motivating force in science. This can lead to behavior which is, at the very least, unattractive: aggressive attacks on competitors, secrecy, sometimes even prevarication.

Linda Wilson, president of Radcliffe and a chemist, recently raised a firestorm by suggesting that the fierce rivalries and ruthless competition among scientists was incompatible with the inclusion of women and minorities in science. She predicted that there will be little change in women's participation until scientific decorum changes. The predictable reaction from men was to extol aggression as the fuel that drives the enterprise and to argue that any attempt to civilize scientific discourse will be its undoing.

Feminists have generally had two responses to this issue. On one side, it has been acknowledged that aggression is a necessary quality for a scientist and that we should be encouraging it in our female students. The opposite view is that women should and will stay out of science so long as it is practiced in such a distasteful way. I find the latter position unappealing at best: ceding the playing field to males will lead to no change. My response is, as much as possible, to encourage my female students to be verbal, confident and curious.

The second cultural aspect that dramatically affects the prospects for women's participation in science careers is the jealous demands on our time. A friend of mine once described science as a black hole, prepared to suck up whatever proportion of your life that you allow it. This complete devotion to science was fostered in the culture of the 50's in which women stayed home and raised families while their husbands conquered the secrets of the universe.

When women began to enter science careers in the 1940's and 1950's, they were expected to renounce any intention of having a family. This is the ultimate un-level playing field, one that persists to this day. Women have paid a terrible price for the success they have realized in the last 20 years. Study after study of all fields, not just science, document that women have forgone marriage and

Second of two parts

children for their success.

The problem of reconciling a scientific career with some semblance of a normal life is exacerbated by the tenure system. A woman is usually 30 years of age before assuming an assistant professorship at a university, which puts her tenure decision at age 35 to 36. Thus her critical scientific years, in which she is establishing her reputation, and her peak reproductive years coincide. This is a dirty trick. Many in my own generation chose to forgo child-bearing until the security of tenure had been granted, only to find that their biological clock had stopped ticking.

Institutions are beginning to grapple with this problem, with different solutions. Some have initiated programs allowing women to have one or more years before the tenure decision to compensate for the time lost in child-bearing. Others have adopted policies to allow both fathers and mothers to take this option.

I favor an even more radical solution: abolish tenure entirely, in favor of rolling appointments that are reviewed regularly. Tenure is no friend to women. It does not protect them from institutional discrimination. Rather it rigidifies their career path when they need maximum flexibility.

Ultimately we must solve this conflict between work and family if we hope to increase the participation of women in science. The alternative is to accept that women will never reach parity or continue to pay an unequal price for their success.

It is not sufficient to improve child care, though that is certainly a worthy short-term goal. And I would not advocate a society in which our children are raised by efficient and subsidized surrogate parents. Rather I would like to create a workplace in which our roles in our families and in society are equally valued. I have sat through too many late-night sessions at scientific meetings listening to my male colleagues brag about their busy schedules and long absences from home.

Science will never be a 9-to-5 profession. It just doesn't work that way. There will always be the astrophysicist who has to spend weeks at a telescope on a mountain in Hawaii, the geologist who runs when the volcano blows, the biologist who has to give injections every three hours round the clock.

On the other hand, I don't believe that science must be practiced to the exclusion of all other human activity. The system I object to confuses quantity with quality. It is not the number of hours you work that determines your contributions to science: it is the quality of your insights and your creativity. The distinction between quantity and quality needs to be continually pointed out, and I suspect that it is going to take women to do it. Most important, we must begin by declaring it loud and clear to our students, who still fear that the two are the same.

What are the prospects for changing the cultural milieu to make it more hospitable for women? There is only one solution and that is the recruitment of more women into science. Numbers really matter. When women reach a critical mass in a field, the cultural barriers naturally begin to slip away.

I would suggest that the greatest change will come in institutions that focus in the short term on the senior faculty level. University faculties are extraordinarily hierarchical, and the graduate students and assistant professors at the bottom of the totem pole are very vulnerable. They are excluded from the most serious decisions on hiring and promotion, and often find it difficult to have their voices heard when they are included in decisions.

Abolish tenure, for starters.

When women at the lowest level are vocal, they are too often dismissed as strident. Senior women, on the other hand, participate in all aspects of decision-making, and their presence in senior-level deliberations acts as a brake on the more egregious forms of discrimination. They provide the example to young students and faculty that women can have successful science careers. By acting as mentors, they can interpret not just the science, but the scientific culture.

Focusing on the hiring and retention of senior women is clearly not a national solution: there just aren't enough senior women in most fields of science. But it is a solution for institutions eager to change rapidly, and to take a leadership role.

The reason we care so much about this subject is that science is an extraordinary profession. I know of few other professions where the excitement that brought you to the field in the first place is sustained over so many years. It would be a tragedy to exclude women from all this fun.

Shirley M. Tilghman is an investigator of the Howard Hughes Medical Institute and professor of molecular biology at Princeton. This is excerpted from a speech at the Olin Confer-

NY Times Op-Ed Tues Jan 26 1988

D27

63

70

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Science vs. the Female Scientist

By Shirley M. Tilghman

In the last two years, we have witnessed a flurry of concern over the under-representation of women and minorities in science and engineering. The concern does not arise from a belated appreciation that women and minorities have been denied access to careers in science. Rather it comes from projections of a significant shortfall in scientists around the turn of the century, caused, at least in part, by the reduced number of white males choosing scientific careers.

This reminds me of the explanation given by a president of an all-male university for why he favored co-education. He explained that unless

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the institution admitted women, it would no longer be able to compete for the best male students, who were being attracted to co-ed campuses. The inclusion of women, in his eyes, was a solution to a problem.

Likewise, today women and minorities are viewed as one solution to a manpower problem in the sciences. Despite the base underpinnings of the motive, this may be a unique opportunity to bring about a greater participation of women and minorities in science. In fact, many universities have commissioned studies on improving recruiting and retention of women students and faculty in science and engineering. Programs abound in government and the philanthropic community to encourage the inclusion of women and minorities.

What are the realistic prospects for these endeavors? First, we need to understand what has stood in the way of women in science.

You can look at the last 20 years in two ways, depending on whether you are an optimist or pessimist. The optimist sees that between 1966 and 1988, the percentage of women receiving science, medical or engineering degrees increased dramatically. In 1966, 23 percent of the bachelor's degrees in science were awarded to women; by 1988, that figure had risen to 40 percent. Women now compose 38 percent of medical school enrollments. As for science doctorates, women earned 9 percent of the total in 1966 and 27 percent in 1988.

The first thing a pessimist would find in the same 20-year span is that the increase in women in scientific and medical careers has not been steady. Most of the increase came in the 1970's, with very little progress after 1982. The second thing a pessimist would note is that the women who have been trained are not in leadership positions in proportion to their representation in the field. The most common response to this is that enough time has not passed for women graduates to have acquired the appropriate seniority. But this is not the case.

Finally, the pessimist would point out that the increases are the average of highly disparate disciplines and hide large differences between fields. For example, in psychology women receive more than half of new doctorates, while in engineering they earn just 7 percent. If you look carefully, almost no progress has been made in increasing the number of women practicing physics, mathematics and engineering in the last 50 years.

Physics and mathematics are clearly at one extreme. In the life sciences, a slightly different dynamic is at work. Fifty percent of bachelor's degrees in biology are awarded to women. There is a drop in graduate and medical schools, where 35 to 40 percent of the graduating classes are female.

Only then do women begin to disappear from the system. By almost every measure, postgraduate women in the life sciences are faring less well than their male colleagues. If one takes as a measure of success those who have reached the status of principal investigator of a National Institutes of Health grant, just 19 percent are women. Where are the other 19 percent who received M.D.'s and Ph.D.'s? They are in non-tenure-track positions in which they often cannot compete for research funds.

What the different experiences of women in the physical and life sciences tell us is that multiple forces are at work to retard the rate at which women enter the scientific work force. Yet I believe that the common thread is the role that culture plays in determining career choices for women.

The cultural issues begin with the low expectations that our education system sets on the performance of females in science, especially in physics and math. This culminates in the hierarchical culture of the laboratory, which evolved in the absence of females. This notion that cultural biases are at the basis of the problem is sobering, as cultures are difficult to change. However, if we indeed have to change the culture, we need to understand its underpinnings and where the pressure points lie.

Let's begin with education. A study by Joan Girgus for the Pew Charitable Trust Science Education Program revealed that differences in the two sexes can be detected as early as 9 years of age, when girls report fewer science-related experiences, such as looking through a telescope. By 13, girls are less likely than boys to read science articles and books, watch science shows or have science hobbies. The cues girls receive in these formative years are not always subtle. Mattel Inc. recently marketed a Barbie doll that says, "I hate math!" when poked in the stomach. I shudder to think what Ken says back!

Another example comes from the experience of a young assistant professor at Princeton. In high school, she obtained the highest grades in science. Shortly before graduation, her principal called her in and asked if she would be willing to forgo the traditional science award so that the second-ranked student, a male, could receive it. The explanation was that he would be better able to use it, as he was headed for a career in science. To the principal, it was inconceivable that this young woman would also consider such a career.

These are shocking stories, the more so because they occurred in the 1980's and 1990's, not the 1950's. This failure of our society, particularly our educators, to equate women with careers in science, and the propensity to discount their achievements when they persist with this ambition lies at the heart of the problem.

In universities, the trend of discouraging women from science careers continues. The number of declared freshman science majors of both sexes is three times the number who will actually graduate with a degree in science or engineering. However, the percentage decline is greater for women than men. The only exception to this is instructive: women's colleges lose far fewer of their science undergraduates to other fields. Surely this is telling us that in an environment that places high expectations on women's achievement, women flourish in science.

> Enter a lab, and relive the 1950's.

When questioned about their experiences as science majors, women at co-ed colleges complain of feelings of isolation in a large class of males, of being ignored by faculty and of not being taken seriously. Women who begin college well-qualified and strongly motivated lose their self-esteem.

I think the difference between the numbers who overcome these hurdles in the physical vs. the biological sciences is directly attributable to the number of women practicing each discipline. It is slowly becoming accepted that women make good biologists, and consequently women are no longer discouraged from following this path. Put another way, the rich tend to get richer. All but the most determined women will tend to gravitate to the environment which is most positive and rewarding, and that tends to be where other women have already led the way. □

NYTimes Mon. Jan 25, 1993

Ellen Weiss

Shirley M. Tilghman is an investigator of the Howard Hughes Medical Institute and professor of molecular biology at Princeton. This is excerpted from a speech to the Olin Conference on Women and the Culture of Science at Washington University in St. Louis on Oct. 21, 1992.

PERSPECTIVES 3/94

Redefining Historical Scholarship: Report of the American Historical Association Ad Hoc Committee on Redefining Scholarly Work

Despite considerable differences in institutional missions and goals, most American colleges and universities agree on the basic criteria for faculty tenure and promotion decisions: the documentation and evaluation of research, teaching, and service. Although the relative weight given to each of the three criteria varies considerably from institution to institution, critics maintain that too much emphasis is now placed on the research component, with the other two relegated to considerably lesser if not irrelevant status. For example, Ernest Boyer of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching maintains that this equation of scholarship with research and publication, while perhaps having served many faculty and institutions well over the years, has perpetuated narrow individual and institutional priorities at odds with the broader interests of faculty and with the varied needs of colleges and universities today. In *Scholarship Reconsidered: Priorities for the Professoriate* (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1990), Boyer argues that "a wide gap now exists between the myth and the reality of academic life. Almost all colleges pay lip service to the trilogy of teaching, research, and service, but when it comes to making judgments about professional performance, the three rarely are assigned equal merit. . . . The time has come to move beyond the tired old 'teaching versus research' debate and give the familiar and honorable term 'scholarship' a broader, more capacious meaning, one that brings legitimacy to the full scope of academic work" (pp. 15–16).

This debate over priorities is not discipline-specific but extends across the higher education community. Nevertheless, each discipline has specific concerns and problems. For history, the privilege given to the monograph in promotion and tenure has led to the undervaluing of other activities central to the life of the discipline—writing textbooks, developing courses and curricula, documentary editing, museum exhibitions, and film projects, to name but a few. Despite a number of efforts within recent years to give greater recognition to such work, a traditional, hierarchical conceptualization of what constitutes historical scholarship, based on the German university model, continues to dominate and restrict our profession's rewards structure. There is little recognition of the diverse interests and talents of today's historians or of the changes that they undergo over the course of their careers. The situation is unlikely to change until we as a profession consciously rethink the fundamental meaning of historical scholarship and the role of the historian as scholar today. While frustration over the academic rewards structure may be the catalyst, a reexamination of the meaning of scholarship has much larger implications for the profession—if scholarly activity is central to the work of our profession, then how we define scholarship determines what it means to be a historian and who is part of the historical community. The AHA defines the history profession in broad, encompassing terms, but is that definition meaningful as long as only certain kinds of work are valued and deemed scholarly within our discipline? If the historical profession is a broad community of individuals committed to "teaching, researching, writing, or otherwise providing or disseminating historical knowledge and understanding" (Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Future of the AHA, 1988, p. 1), then the

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AHA Committees from page 18

Public Schools; Yuri Slezkine, University of California, Berkeley; Sharon Strocchia, Emory University; Renate Bridenthal, *chair 1996*, Brooklyn College, CUNY; Patrick Manning, *co-chair 1996*, Northeastern University.

Delegates

Advisory Committee on Historical Diplomatic Documentation: Warren F. Kimball, Rutgers University.

American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies: Melissa Bokovoy, University of New Mexico.

American Council of Learned Societies: Leon Litwack, University of California, Berkeley.

International Committee of Historical Sciences: Jean Quataert, SUNY, Binghamton.

National Advisory Board of *The History Teacher*: Christine L. Compston, History Teaching Alliance and National History Education Network; Robert A. Blackey, California State University, San Bernardino, *ex officio*.

National Archives II Advisory Group: Alan Kraut, American University.

National Historical Publications and Records Commission: Constance B. Schulz, University of South Carolina.

NHPRC Advisory Group on "America's Documents: America's History": David Kyvig, University of Akron.

Social Science Research Council: William Cronon, University of Wisconsin—Madison.

Note: James B. Gardner, the AHA's acting executive director, is an *ex officio* member of all committees.

D29 72

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virtually exclusive identification of historical scholarship with the monograph is inappropriate and unfairly undervalues the work of a significant portion of professional historians. Just how many historians are excluded by a narrow definition of scholarship? According to data from a 1985–86 study conducted by the American Council of Learned Societies, only 41.8 percent of historians surveyed have published one or more scholarly books or monographs during their careers.

The AHA Ad Hoc Committee

Within this context, the American Historical Association agreed in 1991 to participate in two initiatives that call for the development of discipline-specific redefinitions of scholarly work. The first, conducted by Syracuse University and supported by the Fund for the Improvement of Post Secondary Education and the Lilly Endowment, focuses on enhancing the status of teaching within the faculty rewards system. Eighteen professional associations are taking part in this effort. In the second project, eleven professional associations have agreed to undertake a variety of efforts to increase recognition for scholarship-based professional service. The cosponsors of this project are the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges, the University of Maryland at College Park, and Wayne State University, with support from the Johnson Foundation. Those two projects have in turn contributed to a third initiative in which the Association has taken part, the Forum on Faculty Roles and Rewards sponsored by the American Association for Higher Education and funded by the Fund for the Improvement of Post Secondary Education.

The Association's agreement to take part in these projects rested on five assumptions:

1. That problems associated with the faculty rewards system are not discipline-specific. Hence, individual disciplines and their associations may be a good place to start, but they cannot be expected to bring about reform single-handedly. Similar initiatives must be launched within higher education associations and college and university administrations if there is to be any substantial change.

2. That the AHA's role should not be to prescribe a certain formula but rather to suggest alternative ways of conceptualizing scholarly work and to provide examples of the different ways in which history departments have addressed this issue. The emphasis should be on what "can be" considered scholarship, not what "must be" or "is." Any statement from the Association must be adaptable to the varied needs of different departments and institutions and leave room for individual and institutional choices.

3. That a redefinition of scholarly work should not diminish or undermine historical research but rather extend and enhance it. Nor should a redefinition lead to a competitive situation—the relationship of research to other scholarly work should be viewed as complementary not competitive. Research—as well as teaching—remains at the heart of the profession.

4. That the Association's concern is with historians' activities that relate directly to their research and teaching, broadly defined, and not with public service, civic involvement, or other service to their institutions and communities. While the latter are valuable and should be encouraged, they do not draw upon the historian's professional or disciplinary expertise and cannot be characterized as scholarly.

5. That reform efforts should focus on increasing flexibility within the system and avoid the imposition of additional requirements on already overburdened tenure-track faculty. Moreover, priorities should change concomitantly in institutional support for faculty. The point should be to change priorities and increase options, not to demand more or increase faculty workloads.

Rather than addressing the two issues (teaching and service) separately, the AHA decided to combine the two efforts into one and develop a more comprehensive statement on the nature of scholarly work and the structure of the tenure and rewards system. Toward that end, an ad hoc committee was convened, composed of:

Robert A. Blackey, AHA Vice President for Teaching (1991–95), California State University, San Bernardino

Blanche Wiesen Cook, AHA Vice President for Research (1990–94), John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY

Susan Socolow, AHA Vice President for the Profession (1989–92), Emory University

Philip V. Scarpino, Indiana University—Purdue University at Indianapolis, representing the Organization of American Historians

Noel J. Stowe, Arizona State University, representing the National Council on Public History

James Powell, Syracuse University

Roger Sharp, Syracuse University

Carlin Barton, University of Massachusetts

Gerald F. Linderman, University of Michi

David Miller, Carnegie Mellon University

James B. Gardner, AHA Acting Executive Director, *ex officio*

A Conceptual Framework

An essay by Eugene Rice, Antioch Colle entitled "The New American Scho Scholarship and the Purposes of the Universit provided the context for the ad hoc committe work. The Rice essay provides an alternat conceptualization of scholarly work: He p poses that the trilogy of research, teaching, service be abandoned in favor of a more inclus four-part definition of scholarship. In so doi the discussion broadens from issues of balan within the campus-defined function of profess to the larger roles and obligations of the schol Drawing on the work of Ernest Boyer, Sam Elman, Ernest Lynton, Lee Shulman, and othe Rice breaks scholarship down into four distin yet interrelated components:

1. The advancement of knowledge—essentially original research.
2. The integration of knowledge—synthesizing and reintegrating knowledge, revealing new patterns of meaning and new relationships between the parts and the whole.
3. The application of knowledge—professional practice directly related to an individual's scholarly specialization.
4. The transformation of knowledge through teaching—including pedagogical content knowledge and discipline-specific educational theory.

Rice concludes:

We know that what is being proposed challenges a hierarchical arrangement of monumental proportions—a status system that is firmly fixed in the consciousness of the present faculty and the academy's organizational policies and practices. What is being called for is a broader, more open field where these different forms of scholarship can interact, inform, and enrich one another, and faculty can follow their interests, build on their strengths, and be rewarded for what they spend most of their scholarly energy doing. All faculty ought to be scholars in this broader sense, deepening their preferred approaches to knowing but constantly pressing, and being pressed by peers, to enlarge their scholarly capacities and encompass other—often contrary—ways of knowing (p. 6).

Redefining continued page 22

D30

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Redefining from page 20

An Expanded Definition of Historical Scholarship

The ad hoc committee then applied this framework to the history discipline, using as a starting point the following passage from the AHA's *Statement on Standards of Professional Conduct* (1992):

> Scholarship, the uncovering and exchange of new information and the shaping of interpretations, is basic to the activities of the historical profession. The profession communicates with students in textbooks and classrooms; to other scholars and the general public in books, articles, exhibits, films, and historic sites and structures; and to decision-makers in memoranda and testimony (p. 5).

That description is clearly broader than the traditional definition of scholarship as original research, and it provided the committee with the basis for developing an expanded list of activities appropriate for consideration under a more inclusive tenure and promotion system. The list that follows is basically an inventory of activities that *can* be scholarly but does not address when a particular activity is scholarly and when it is not—that is an issue of evaluation, as discussed below. For example, teaching can be a scholarly activity, but all teaching is not scholarly in nature.

Using the Rice formulation of scholarship, the committee proposes that within history:

1. The advancement of knowledge includes:

   Original research—based on manuscript and printed sources, material culture, oral history interviews, or other source materials—published in the form of a monograph or refereed journal article; disseminated through a paper or lecture given at a meeting or conference or through a museum exhibition or other project or program; or presented in a contract research report, policy paper, or other commissioned study.

   Documentary or critical editions.

   Translations.

2. The integration of knowledge includes:

   Synthesis of scholarship—published in a review essay (journal or anthology), textbook, newsletter, popular history, magazine, encyclopedia, newspaper, or other form of publication; disseminated through a paper or lecture given at a meeting or conference or through a museum exhibition, film, or other public program; or presented in a contract research report, policy paper, or other commissioned study.

   Edited anthologies, journals, or series of volumes comprised of the work of other scholars.

3. The application of knowledge includes:

   Public history, specifically:

   Public programming (exhibitions, tours, etc.) in museums and other cultural and educational institutions.

   Consulting and providing expert testimony on public policy and other matters.

   Contract research on policy formulation and policy outcomes.

   Participation in film and other media projects.

   Writing and compiling institutional and other histories.

   Historic preservation and cultural resource management.

   Administration and management of historical organizations and institutions.

   Archival administration and the creation of bibliographies and databases.

   Professional service—editing journals and newsletters, organizing scholarly meetings, etc.

   Community service drawing directly upon scholarship—through state humanities councils (e.g., public lectures), history day competitions, etc.

4. The transformation of knowledge through teaching includes:

   Student mentoring/advising.

   Research, writing, and consulting in history education and in other disciplines allied to history.

   Development of courses, curricula, visual materials, and teaching materials (including edited anthologies, textbooks, and software)—implemented in the classroom or disseminated through publications (books, professional newsletter articles, etc.), papers (annual meetings, teaching conferences, etc.), or non-print forms.

   Organization and participation in collaborative content-based programs (workshops, seminars, etc.) with the schools.

   Participation in developing and evaluating advanced placement and other forms of assessment.

   Museum exhibitions, catalogues, lectures, film, radio, etc.—public programs as forms of teaching.

While the charge to the committee was to develop a discipline-specific definition of scholarly work, the above formulation would be applicable as well to interdisciplinary work by historians. The committee did not address, however, the relative value of or weight that should be given to such work.

Weighting, Documentation, and Evaluation

As indicated earlier, this list of activities should not be viewed as prescriptive or definitive but rather as suggestive of how historical scholarship *can* be redefined to be more inclusive and multidimensional. While the breakdown provides a good starting point for departmental reassessment of promotion and tenure criteria, any such effort must also take into account the mission and goals of the individual department and the institution of which it is a part. Even if a department adopts the redefinition, it must still determine for itself the appropriate balance among the four components and the relative weight to be assigned to each. A central question that every department should address is whether there is a single mix or balance that each individual within the department must achieve or whether there is room for individuals to weight categories of work differently, as long as the department overall achieves a balance consistent with its mission.

But agreeing on an appropriate definition of scholarly work is only the first step—implementation is impossible without the development of appropriate strategies for documentation and evaluation. Work that cannot be documented and evaluated does not merit reward. But how is the work to be documented? It is relatively simple to provide copies of books or articles produced as part of one's research, but how is an innovative classroom activity or a museum exhibit documented? Advocates of the redefinition of scholarly work maintain that scholarship is strengthened when other activities are included, but it is difficult to demonstrate scholarly quality and rigor when documentation involves no more than counting or identifying. New forms of documentation such as portfolios and reflective essays must be implemented.

Attention also must be given to peer review and evaluation. Who will evaluate this scholarship? Do you require outside reviewers for teaching as you do for research? How do you secure the reviewers needed to evaluate work outside the usual expertise of faculty, such as museum exhibitions and computer software? What will be the criteria for evaluation? In a presentation entitled "What Makes It Scholarly" at the Conference on Redefinition and Assessment of Scholarship, which was sponsored by Syracuse University in 1992, Ernest Lynton suggested that evaluation criteria might include the expertise informing the choices made, the appropriateness and effectiveness of the choices, the originality and degree of innovation manifested in the activity, the difficulty of the task accomplished, and the scope and importance of the activity. Lynton's criteria focus on the process of scholarship rather than the product, thus encompassing a wider range of work than the monograph or journal article. For an example of how documentation and evaluation has been addressed for a nontraditional form of scholarship (museum exhibitions), see Thomas J. Schlereth, "Museum Exhi-

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bition Reviews: Introduction," *Journal of American History* (June 1989), pp. 192–95.

As each department or institution develops or adopts standards and criteria appropriate to its own mission and goals, the problem of transferability from one institution to another arises—will a scholar with nontraditional credentials find his or her mobility restricted? It is likely, for example, that the most prestigious research universities will continue to weight those activities classified under "advancement of knowledge" very heavily in appointment and promotion decisions. Thus senior members of a department have an obligation to counsel junior colleagues not only about the criteria for promotion in their own institution but also about the realities that govern advancement in the profession beyond that institution.

For further discussion of these issues (weighting, documentation, and evaluation) within the broader higher education context, see Robert M. Diamond and Bronwyn E. Adam, eds., *Recognizing Faculty Work: Reward Systems for the Year 2000* (Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1993); Russell Edgerton, Patricia Hutchings, and Kathleen Quinlan, *The Teaching Portfolio: Capturing the Scholarship in Teaching* (American Association for Higher Education, 1991); Sandra E. Elman and Sue Marx Smock, *Professional Service and Faculty Rewards: Toward an Integrated Structure* (National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, 1985); and Ernest A. Lynton and Sandra E. Elman, *New Priorities for the University* (Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1987). Each addresses both theory and practice and provides additional bibliographic citations. The Forum on Faculty Roles and Rewards of the American Association for Higher Education (AAHE) has assembled a resource packet that includes not only a bibliography of articles and monographs but also a list of unpublished campus documents that address issues of faculty priorities and the reward system. Contact the Forum at the AAHE offices, One Dupont Circle, Suite 360, Washington, DC 20036-1110, (202) 293-6440.

Case Studies in Faculty Roles and Rewards

For a discussion of these tenure and promotion issues within the specific context of the history profession, see the April 1988, October and December 1989, and June 1991 issues of the *OAH Council of Chairs Newsletter* and the spring 1993 issue of the *Public Historian*. The first and the last provide discussions of promotion and tenure within the context of public history, and the 1991 issue of the *Newsletter* focuses on evaluating teaching. The other two issues present case studies of policies and procedures at eight very different public and private colleges and universities, including a two-year senior college, three general baccalaureate institutions, two comprehensive institutions, and two doctoral-level universities. Moreover, the departments vary in terms of the highest degree offered—five offer the B.A., two the M.A., and one the Ph.D.—and in size—from ten to nearly thirty faculty each. These articles provide both valuable illustrations of alternative faculty rewards systems and direction in addressing documentation and evaluation questions.

The pertinent articles from the *OAH Council of Chairs Newsletter* are:

From the April 1988 issue:

Kendrick A. Clements, "Promotion and Tenure for Public Historians."

From the October 1989 issue:

Donald R. Whitnah, "Faculty Evaluation at the University of Northern Iowa."

Raymond G. Herbert, "Faculty Evaluation at Thomas More College."

Charles P. Carlson, Jr., "Faculty Evaluation at the University of Denver."

Louise E. Hoffman, "Faculty Evaluation at Pennsylvania State University at Harrisburg."

From the December 1989 issue:

Robert W. McAhren, "Teaching Evaluation at Washington and Lee University."

Charles R. Bailey, "Assessing Teaching Effectiveness at SUNY-Geneseo."

Carol S. Gruber, "Evaluating Teaching at William Paterson College."

Anthony O. Edmonds, "The Evaluation and Reward of Teaching: Confessions of a Department Head Who Agreed to Chair a Blue Ribbon Committee on Evaluating Teaching."

From the June 1991 issue:

Russell Edgerton, "The Teaching Portfolio—Recognizing the Scholarship in Teaching."

Peter Seldin and Linda F. Annis, "The Teaching Portfolio."

John Barber, "The Teaching Portfolio: At Last, a Panacea."

Anthony O. Edmonds, "The Teaching Portfolio: A Personal Witness by a Department Chair."

James Wilkinson, "Documenting Feedback in the Teaching Portfolio."

From the *Public Historian*:

Philip V. Scarpino, "Some Thoughts on Defining, Evaluating, and Rewarding Public Scholarship," *Public Historian* 15 (spring 1993): 55–61.

For copies of the newsletters, contact the Organization of American Historians, 112 North Bryan Street, Bloomington, IN 47408-4199, (812) 855-7311. For the *Public Historian*, contact the Department of History, University of California, Santa Barbara, California 93106-9410, (805) 893-3667.

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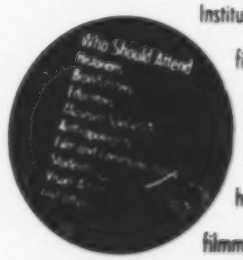

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Encouraging Schoolgirls to Enter a Mostly Male World

By PETER MARKS
Special to The New York Times

STONY BROOK, L.I., Jan. 11 — A gasp rose from the audience of 300 Long Island schoolgirls when Cynthia Burrows, a chemistry professor, projected the slide onto the screen.

What startled the students wasn't a chart of the periodic table or a model of the architecture of a carbon molecule or the text of a complex theory. It was a photograph of her 18-month-old triplets.

The lesson that Professor Burrows was trying to impart had more to do with a formula for life and work than the properties of organic compounds. Her message: a scientific career and motherhood can be made to mix, but only after the science training has occurred and the career has been established.

The Valuable Years

"These years between 15 and 30, this is a time when you have a lot of energy, a lot of intellectual ability," she told the junior and senior high school girls who gathered today in an auditorium at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. "There is no reason at all to encumber yourself with a husband and family. Postpone as long as you can."

That view might seem extreme, but she said later that women in the world of science must often make difficult choices. "To excel in science, which is still a conservative field, you must follow a narrow pathway of education, sometimes at personal cost," she said.

The girls, 8th, 9th and 10th graders from 31 Long Island schools, had been invited to Stony Brook for a day of encouragement and exploration of academic disciplines that remain largely male bastions: the worlds of math and science. Two dozen female professors at Stony Brook, which has a national reputation as a center for science education, agreed to act as guides into those worlds, escorting the teen-agers into their laboratories and detailing the opportunities that science offers.

Vic DeLucia/The New York Times

Eighth-, 9th- and 10th-grade girls were invited yesterday to the State University of New York at Stony Brook, L.I., for a day of encouragement and exploration of academic disciplines that remain largely male bastions: the worlds of math and science. Hanna Nekvasil, an associate professor of earth and space sciences at Stony Brook, gave a tour of the college's experimental petrology lab.

"The goal is awareness," Linda Padwa said. "It's letting the girls be aware that they can lead productive careers in science and still be feminine." Ms. Padwa, a science teacher from Port Jefferson, helped create the Symposium for Girls Exploring Mathematics and Science, which ran its first conference today. "This country doesn't have enough mathematicians and scientists to write off half the population."

Men at the Top

Although women have made gains in some scientific fields, particularly in the biological sciences, they remain underrepresented in physics, applied mathematics and engineering. The top echelons of science are overwhelmingly dominated by men. Of 1,750 members of the National Academy of Sciences, for instance, only 70 are women.

Hanna Nekvasil, an associate professor of earth and space sciences at Stony Brook, says that in general it is harder to keep women in science programs, that women are more likely to suffer from a lack of confidence in their abilities and abandon the science track.

Despite gains by women, men dominate the top ranks of science.

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D 34

The Appeal of Rocks

"What we have found is that the freshman year of college was a very critical year for women interested in science, and that more freshmen women drop out of science programs than men," she said. Often, science teachers at the symposium said, it is a matter of different learning styles. They said that some teachers do not know how to accommodate the need that many girls have for a less abstract, more pragmatic approach to the sciences.

Today, Professor Nekvasil shepherded nine girls into her experimental petrology lab, where she studies the crystallized structures of rocks. "How many of you think rocks are boring?" she asked, as a few of her charges put their hands in the air. "You won't by the end of the class."

The professor gave the girls pieces of granite and hardened lava to hold, showed them how to examine a sliver of rock under an electron microscope, and offered them a soft sell on the glories of geology.

Some students said that they were interested in science but had not formed any specific plan.

"I'm not really sure yet," said Roopal Sampat, a 15-year-old sophomore from Garden City. "I was interested in medicine, but now I'm thinking either something in math or science, or maybe computer programming."

Jeyce Capizzano, 15, a sophomore at Hicksville High School, said she was thinking about becoming a doctor, and that being among female scientists for a day gave her a stronger sense of the possibilities open to her. "It helps me to see these women, to see how hard they work to succeed," she said.

A Life in Pictures

In her half-hour talk, Professor Burrows shied away from some of the drier aspects of her discipline, instead presenting a slide show of her life in science. She showed pictures from the summer she spent as an intern on Ascension Island in the South Atlantic, helping to launch weather balloons for the National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration; of the view from her lab window in Strasbourg, France, where she did postdoctoral work, and of a white-water rafting trip she took while attending an organic chemistry symposium in Montana.

There was even a magnified slide showing the chromosomes of her daughter, Laurel, one of the triplets, given her after she had amniocentesis. Professor Burrows told the students that she had her children at the age of 39, a little older than most of them might want to try, but assisted by modern science: the triplets, she said, came about as a result of in vitro fertilization.

As her audience oohed and ahhed, the professor talked of other scientific advances, like the mapping of the human genome, and of the part that the girls in the auditorium might someday play. "This is all going to happen in the next generation," she said. "And you are going to be the scientists of the next generation."

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Vic DeLucia/The New York Times

Eighth-, 9th- and 10th-grade girls were invited yesterday to the State University of New York at Stony Brook, L.I., for a day of encouragement and exploration of academic disciplines that remain largely male bastions: the worlds of math and science. Hanna Nekvasil, an associate professor of earth and space sciences at Stony Brook, gave a tour of the college's experimental petrology lab.

"The goal is awareness," Linda Padwa said. "It's letting the girls be aware that they can lead productive careers in science and still be feminine." Ms. Padwa, a science teacher from Port Jefferson, helped create the Symposium for Girls Exploring Mathematics and Science, which ran its first conference today. "This country doesn't have enough mathematicians and scientists to write off half the population."

Men at the Top

Although women have made gains in some scientific fields, particularly in the biological sciences, they remain underrepresented in physics, applied mathematics and engineering. The top echelons of science are overwhelmingly dominated by men. Of 1,750 members of the National Academy of Sciences, for instance, only 70 are women.

Hanna Nekvasil an associate professor of earth and space sciences at Stony Brook, says that in general it is harder to keep women in science programs, that women are more likely to suffer from a lack of confidence in their abilities and abandon the science track.

Despite gains by women, men dominate the top ranks of science.

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D36

The Appeal of Rocks

"What we have found is that the freshman year of college was a very critical year for women interested in science, and that more freshmen women drop out of science programs than men," she said. Often, science teachers at the symposium said, it is a matter of different learning styles. They said that some teachers do not know how to accommodate the need that many girls have for a less abstract, more pragmatic approach to the sciences.

Today, Professor Nekvasil shepherded nine girls into her experimental petrology lab, where she studies the crystallized structures of rocks. "How many of you think rocks are boring?" she asked, as a few of her charges put their hands in the air. "You won't by the end of the class."

The professor gave the girls pieces of granite and hardened lava to hold, showed them how to examine a sliver of rock under an electron microscope, and offered them a soft sell on the glories of geology.

Some students said that they were interested in science but had not formed any specific plan.

"I'm not really sure yet," said Roopal Sampat, a 15-year-old sophomore from Garden City. "I was interested in medicine, but now I'm thinking either something in math or science, or maybe computer programming."

Joyce Capizzano, 15, a sophomore at Hicksville High School, said she was thinking about becoming a doctor, and that being among female scientists for a day gave her a stronger sense of the possibilities open to her. "It helps me to see these women, to see how hard they work to succeed," she said.

A Life in Pictures

In her half-hour talk, Professor Burrows shied away from some of the drier aspects of her discipline, instead presenting a slide show of her life in science. She showed pictures from the summer she spent as an intern on Ascension Island in the South Atlantic, helping to launch weather balloons for the National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration; of the view from her lab window in Strasbourg, France, where she did postdoctoral work, and of a white-water rafting trip she took while attending an organic chemistry symposium in Montana.

There was even a magnified slide showing the chromosomes of her daughter, Laurel, one of the triplets, given her after she had amniocentesis. Professor Burrows told the students that she had her children at the age of 39, a little older than most of them might want to try, but assisted by modern science: the triplets, she said, came about as a result of in vitro fertilization.

As her audience oohed and ahhed, the professor talked of other scientific advances, like the mapping of the human genome, and of the part that the girls in the auditorium might someday play. "This is all going to happen in the next generation," she said. "And you are going to be the scientists of the next generation."

SUCCESS AND SURVIVAL STRATEGIES FOR WOMEN FACULTY MEMBERS

by Bernice Resnick Sandler

D37 S4

Success and Survival Strategies for Women Faculty Members

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Despite much progress in academe over the last twenty years, some patterns hardly have changed at all. On virtually every college and university faculty, the higher the rank, the fewer the women. The more prestigious the institution, the field, or the department, the fewer the women. At every rank, in every type of institution, in every field, women faculty members on the whole earn less than men, even when factors such as age, quality of degree preparation, years of experience, and publications are taken into account. Women are less likely to receive tenure, and it takes them longer to get it.

Many explanations have been given as to why women do not progress as far or as fast as men, although it is beyond our scope to explore the reasons here in detail. Generally, however, they fall into three categories: structural, psychological, and sociological.

The structural explanation emphasizes the nature of the work environment. Characteristics of the organizational situation, rather than inner traits or skills of women faculty members, are viewed as primary determinants of how women function on the job. For example, women with children are more likely to spend a greater proportion of their time on parenting than men. Therefore, an institution that makes no allowance for child rearing when a woman has parental responsibilities and is also preparing for tenure presents structural barriers to women's advancement, even though the institution appears to treat men and women alike. Many people believe that structural change—especially in terms of organization, policies, and practices—is essential for equity to develop.

The psychological explanation focuses on the individual. It suggests that for a variety of reasons many women lack skills and traits necessary to compete successfully. This explanation assumes that if women are taught certain skills such as how to speak assertively, how to "dress for success," and how to handle a budget they will be successful. The burden of change is on women rather than the institution, because this person-centered explanation implies that to a large degree, women are misfits and need to adopt organizational behavior that is essentially male. Apart from the obvious—that women are not men—the supposition is that the existing structure is the "right" one and therefore does not need to change and that male career patterns (such as no work interruptions for family matters) are the only acceptable norm.

The third explanation focuses on the social barriers—primarily how men relate to women—and includes a wide range of behaviors such as discrimination, stereotyping, and the discomfort that each gender may feel with the other. Certainly in our society men have been socialized to be dominant over women, and this translates into innumerable social barriers for women. Men (and women) may expect women to be passive, thus creating self-fulfilling prophecies. Women may be excluded from informal contact and thus learn less about the informal politics of a department or professional opportunities. Stereotypes may lead to inaccurate perceptions and expectations concerning women. Some men may make sexual jokes and innuendos and engage in sexual harassment. Such behaviors often make women uncomfortable and angry; the emotional energy and time that women expend, in turn, may also affect their productivity.

These three explanations obviously are intertwined: none by itself is sufficient to explain the difficulties women face in the workplace. All three explanations contribute to our understanding of what happens on the job; all three need to be addressed if workplaces are to become more equitable.

This paper focuses only on one strategy—how to help women change their behaviors in order to enhance their own careers. It does not deal with the structure of the workplace or with the societal issues that make it difficult for women to participate actively and succeed in the workplace, although it does include some strategies for responding to differential treatment. Thus the paper is an incomplete blueprint for equity. However much a woman attends to factors that might enhance her chances of moving ahead, many other major factors over which she may have little or no control may outweigh her own efforts, no matter how extensive and appropriate they might be.

Women who are also members of a minority group are even more likely to have difficulty in the workplace. Often they face "double discrimination": once for being female, once for being racially or ethnically different. Minority women may be even more isolated from their colleagues and face hostility from men (both white and minority) as well as from white women. They are more likely to be seen as "tokens," regardless of their qualifications.[1] The unintentionally derogatory description—"qualified minority woman"—implies that although minority women are generally not qualified, this particular woman is an exception to the rule.

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D38

"Outsiders" such as all women and people of color are likely to suffer from inattention and overattention. In many instances, minority women are more likely to be singled out and judged according to stereotyped expectations than other women so that differences between women of color and white women may be exaggerated.

Because of their small numbers on most campuses, minority women may have heightened visibility and thus may be subject to more scrutiny than their minority male or female colleagues. Minority women may receive less feedback about their work than white women or minority men, and thus they may need to seek out feedback more actively than other women. Indeed, minority women generally have to work harder than majority women to survive in academe.

I have included a wide array of strategies so that individual women may select those they find most helpful. Not all of this advice is applicable or useful for everyone. Some women may disagree or feel uncomfortable with a specific strategy. Some strategies may not be appropriate for particular situations; some strategies may need to be changed.

This list of strategies is not inclusive; many persons will want to add their own. These strategies come not only from people who have written on the subject but also from hundreds of conversations I have had with women and men over many years as I have traveled from campus to campus. Many have been tested on campuses I have visited where women and men have questioned, clarified, and sharpened these strategies.

Not included are many strategies that are important to both men and women; instead, I have focused on those that are particularly important for women or may not have been widely discussed elsewhere. Thus, this paper should be read in conjunction with other guides or books about "success," some of which are listed at the end of this paper.

Lastly, it is important to keep in mind that although not every woman wants to get "to the top," the information in this paper is not only helpful in planning where you want to be but also in staying there. Unlike men, for whom success often means fame and power, for many women success means survival. Whatever your goals, I hope this paper will help you in some way.

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

The SUNY–Albany Women's Concerns Committee lists four basic recommendations for women faculty members.[2]

☐ Be active and energetic on your own behalf. Do not assume that anyone else will look out for your interests.

☐ Develop a strategy now that will guide your progress as a scholar, teacher, and colleague over the next five years.

☐ Seek information, advice, and assistance in developing, implementing, and revising your strategy. Do not make major decisions without talking to other people.

☐ Keep careful records of your activities as a scholar, teacher, and colleague. Begin immediately to create a tenure file.

Here are some other general strategies.

☐ Work on more than one project at a time.

☐ Actively seek feedback from colleagues, senior faculty members, and your department chair. Do not assume that no feedback means there are no problems. Because women are less likely to get feedback than men, and because evaluations from male supervisors may not be given until something is wrong, it is important to deliberately seek it so that problems, if any, can be identified and dealt with. If you do not get a formal evaluation at the end of your first year, ask for one. Your evaluation should be performed annually and put in writing. If your evaluation is negative and you believe the comments are legitimate, you should discuss them with your chair to plan what you need to do to improve. If you believe any negative comment is not accurate, provide written materials to refute the evaluation.

☐ Talk with women of different races, from different classes, with different sexual orientations, from different places in the academic hierarchy. Find a mentor. Get feedback, strategies. Develop your own networks. Find out what others have done in individual instances or what women's groups or minority groups have done to effect change. (Some of these subjects are discussed in greater detail throughout this paper.)

WHAT YOU NEED TO KNOW AND HOW TO LEARN IT

Most of the formal knowledge you'll need is contained in documents such as the faculty handbook. Be sure to obtain the written policies about tenure, promotion, and retention.

Ask for a written job description if you do not already have one. If there is none, write it yourself and ask your chair if the description is accurate. When agreed upon, have the chair sign it. Another technique is to send your description along with a note to the chair saying, "If I have not heard from you by (date), I will assume that you agree with this."

Learn what services are available from the department and from the institution, such as clerical help, release time, research assistance, and financial support. Learn what sources of help for research are available outside the institution.

Check out fellowship and grant directories such as the *Foundation Directory*. Check with friends and colleagues for other sources. Some professional organizations have lists of grant support. Check sources of support on existing research in your field.

See the grants officer at your institution if your institution has one. That person can help with sources, check with foundations and agencies about the appropriateness of your proposal, and also help you develop your proposal.

In addition to written information, there is a good deal of unwritten information that is essential. Every institution and department has its own culture. There are unwritten organizational structures, rules, and customs, and women have less opportunity to learn what these are. Some examples are: Who are the powerful people in the department? In the division? What are the informal rules? How much deference does one show to the people in power? Which behaviors are valued and which are not? (The purpose of this question is not necessarily to force conformity but to help you make an informed choice about how you want to behave.)

A lot of information about the tenure process is not written down. Allies are needed on the tenure committee; how does one obtain them? Doing excellent research may not be enough; it is helpful to know in which publications to publish, which to avoid, what conferences to attend, and so forth.

How can women get this sort of information? The best way is to talk to people who have been involved in the process. Talk with as many people as possible. "What would you have liked to know when you began the tenure process?" is a good question.

Talk regularly with your department chair in order to gain information about the department, the tenure process, and how you are fitting into the department. Learn from others which institutional and departmental committees are valued by your department so that you can try to serve on those. Talk to people about sources for research support that may not be generally known or available.

NETWORKING AND MENTORING

Mentors and informal networks can provide information, strategies, support, and opportunities to meet others who can provide the same things. Until recent years, most writers examining mentoring and success believed that having a mentor was essential to moving up. Mentoring was described as a long-term relationship where one person (usually a man) took another person (usually another man) under his wing and taught him the informal ropes of the profession, supported and encouraged him, introduced him to important people, and opened doors for his advancement.

Women students and faculty members as well as other relative newcomers in academe often have difficulty in obtaining a mentor. In part, because of their outsider status, women may have less knowledge of how the system operates and what steps to take to find a mentor. Additionally, to the extent that most people are more comfortable with people like themselves, some men may be uncomfortable mentoring women. They may also believe that women are not likely to stay in their profession long enough to be worthy of the mentor's involvement or that women are not capable of exceptional work and achievements and therefore are not worthy of sponsorship.

Women often turn to other women for mentoring. Unfortunately, there are not enough women in most departments and fields to provide the intensive experiences needed for successful mentoring as traditionally conceived. As a result, many women have focused on networking with both men and women. Traditional mentoring involves a close relationship; networking is more casual. But one can gain similar kinds of help from both: some more easily from mentoring, others more easily from networking. Most people need both in order to survive: strong ties and weak ties. Networking can be defined, in a sense, as providing short-term, multiple mentors.

Many of the following suggestions are appropriate for both networking and mentoring.[3]

Mentors and others who can help do not need to be professionally well-established. Colleagues at the same level—colleagues in other departments, fields, and institutions—can also be helpful. Get to know clerical workers and respect them as you would professional colleagues. Not only can they be helpful in getting things done, but they also can be another valuable source of information about informal structure.

Talk with people at all levels: your department chair, senior professors, junior faculty members in your own department, women colleagues in other departments, people with research interests similar to yours in other departments, people in your discipline at other institutions. Take the initiative in seeking out these people by calling and visiting them.

If you are seeking a mentor, don't wait passively until you are asked. Introduce yourself. Ask a colleague to mention your work to a potential mentor. Maximize informal contacts with the person(s) you would like to have as a mentor by working together, serving on the same committee or task force, sharing information that might be helpful, attending the same meetings. One way to begin might be asking for help regarding the strengths and weaknesses of your work. Always express appreciation for advice and criticism.

Don't limit your search for mentors to your own institution. If appropriate, send a paper(s) with a letter asking for comments to persons who work in the same areas, whose work you have cited (or have cited you), who you met at a conference, or who have been recommended to you by mentors at your home institution. (But don't send book-length manuscripts without prior encouragement.) Invite your potential mentor to be a guest lecturer in your class or other group. Productive researchers, among other things, maintain regular and close contact (for example, telephone calls) with colleagues on and off campus who conduct research on similar topics.[4]

The SUNY–Albany Women's Concern's Committee suggests that you think of your own informal network as a personal "advisory committee."

Develop a "career cooperative" or other mutual support group. This is not a therapy group but focuses on institutional and professional issues.[5]

Keep in mind that relationships take time and effort.

Join your professional organization and offer to work on

committees. Join caucuses and commissions in your professional organization that deal with women's and/or minority issues.

Keep in mind that networking and mentoring are two-way streets. Many women underestimate the amount of knowledge they have about the academic system or about their organization, the contacts they have, the avenues they can use to help someone else. You don't have to be at the top of the heap to be a mentor. You, too, can provide information, strategies, support, and opportunities to help other people and expand their networks.

NEGOTIATING

Negotiating, although we often do not call it that, takes place at many points in an academic career. Asking about the terms of a job offer or about changing the conditions of your work, whether for a change in salary or obtaining additional space, all involve negotiating. Often women are uncomfortable with negotiating, and it is sometimes helpful to talk about this with other people if you are uncomfortable about it.

Be specific about what you want. You probably have the most power to negotiate at the time of a job offer. For example, if there is a chance that you might get a research assistant, this is the time to ask for one, rather than hope that once you are settled you will be able to work things out.

Talk to others about what they would have liked to have asked for had they known more (such as parts of the benefit package, travel to professional meetings, research support, teaching load, sabbaticals, office space, equipment, and mortgage assistance from the institution).

Whether negotiating a job offer, a salary increase, or some benefit, negotiate from a position of strength. Ask for a higher salary because of your achievements (which you describe) and not because your children are going to college. Being one of the "deserving poor" does not get you a raise in academe (or anywhere else).

Once you are on the job, you may have to initiate negotiating for particular benefits. Do not assume that good work alone will merit what you think you deserve. In most instances, if you need clerical help, more equipment, or whatever, you will have to ask for it and negotiate.

After any negotiating session is concluded, be sure that you have a summary of what was agreed upon in writing. You can write a letter or memo summarizing the agreement. Martha Tolpin suggests that such a memo cover the topics discussed and the conclusions reached, both positive and negative. She especially advises that people be very specific about time and money issues and adds that if your counterpart negotiator does not take the trouble to write you, your letter or memo will constitute the written record.[6] As suggested earlier, you can end such a memo with a statement such as "If I do not hear from you in the next two weeks I will assume that my understanding of our meeting is correct."

HANDLING DISCRIMINATION

Women do need to learn the same skills that men learn, but they also need to learn about the unique barriers that they as women will encounter. Women are not treated in the same ways as men are treated in the workplace. They get different reactions from other people and they need to know what these reactions are so that they can deal with them.

> If women...aren't prepared in advance for...[gender-] related problems on the job, they will be stunned at the first occurrence and have no relevant training to cope with the inevitable. Because white men have not been subject to subtle forms of discrimination, they cannot be expected to appreciate how different their attitudes are toward women business colleagues.[7]

Women are outsiders and therefore at a disadvantage in male-dominated organizations. All of us try to hire people like ourselves—the clone factor. We are all more comfortable with people like ourselves. Also, some men lack confidence or trust in women or have some level of anxiety about women. They may be unsure about what working with a woman is like or whether they—and the woman—can handle it. When men are uncomfortable and/or when they are threatened by women's achievements, their informal behaviors are likely to communicate their discomfort and, in turn, make women uncomfortable. For example, ignoring women's comments or interrupting them keeps women off balance. To the extent that women know and understand these behaviors, they can better deal with them, or at least not be devastated by them.

Pick your battles carefully. You can't raise every single issue of sexism (you'll go crazy if you try!). There may well be disagreements and disagreeable behavior on the part of some people, but not all of them are worth fighting about. Nevertheless, when things are very bad, they can't be ignored. Sherita Caesar, a Motorola executive, said succinctly, "If you won't tolerate an injustice from a friend or acquaintance, why should you take it from a work associate?"[8]

Behavior that makes women uncomfortable often makes them angry as well. However, reacting in an emotional or retaliatory manner is often not effective. Similarly, ignoring the behavior in the hope that it will go away is also ineffective because the lack of response is typically misinterpreted as approval or not caring about the behavior. Ignoring bad behavior does not make it go away; indeed, it may get worse.

Many women find it helpful to confront the behavior by specifically stating what they do not like and what they want to happen: "You and I are going to be working together for a long time. I'm uncomfortable when you refer to me as

'Sweetie.' My name is Mary, and that is what I want to be called," or, "Look, whenever I make a suggestion it's ignored, but when someone else makes the same suggestion, you react to it positively. I'd like you to pay attention to the suggestions I raise." Some women have responded lightly to sexist comments or jokes with words such as, "Uh-uh. That's a 'no-no.' That's sexual harassment."

These techniques are most effective when used the first time the behavior occurs, although they will also work later. If you are feeling angry and cannot easily separate your feelings from your behavior, it is often wiser to wait until you can react in a calm, collected manner.

Don't assume a paranoid attitude when bad things happen. Look for an alternate explanation such as inefficiency, for example. In real life, few plots occur; most people have neither the time, energy, nor ability to plot. It is easy to blame other people and outside factors or, conversely, to blame oneself. Instead, try to figure out what really went wrong. Talk to others about it in terms of what happened and what to do next.

Don't blame men as a group. They are not the enemy; sexism is. If you think you are being discounted, think of it as a challenge and try to figure out what you can do: where do you go from here? That's more productive than simple blaming.

Sometimes men will test women with aggressive comments; they may say things that are either deliberately nasty or inadvertently hostile. One way (not the only way) to respond is with humor. One woman who was referred to at a panel as "a lovely lady with whom I would hate to disagree" turned the tables when she referred to the speaker as "a handsome gentleman with whom I would hate to disagree." Responding to discriminatory comments with humor connotes strength, and often through humor we can communicate thoughts that would be far more threatening if they were communicated directly.[9]

Sometimes humor can be used to make women feel uncomfortable. Aggressive humor can define and ridicule the outsider(s), and thereby create bonds among those who share the laughter. One way to deal with aggressive humor is to pretend ignorance and lack of understanding. When a colleague tells a sexist joke, you can say, with a straight face, "I don't understand the joke. Would you tell it again?" There is nothing worse for a joke-teller than to have someone not "get the joke." You listen again, and then ask him (usually it's a "him") to tell it a third time, perhaps then asking him for an explanation. Typically the joke-teller either will decide you have no sense of humor or perhaps begin to understand that the joke is inappropriate. In either event, he is not likely to tell you that kind of joke again.

You can use a similar technique in responding to inappropriate questions or statements by taking them quite literally and responding in kind. For example, if a male colleague compliments you on your appearance during a professional presentation, you can thank him, and then immediately compliment him on how nice he looks or what a beautiful suit he is wearing.

Additional suggestions appear under "Sexual Harassment" on page 8.

PERSONAL PRESENTATION

The way in which one presents oneself affects the way in which colleagues and students make judgments. While it is tempting to say that one's dress and manner should not count and that one's work is what is really important—and in a better world this would be true—one needs to be aware of what is expected in dress and behavior so that one can make a choice as to how to respond. The problem is figuring out whether or how to play the game with regard to some superficial behaviors while preserving one's own integrity and sense of self in the more important areas. Cynthia Secor, director of Higher Education Resource Services (HERS) Mid-America, recognizes the twin and sometimes conflicting needs of personal expression and professional expectations and reconciles them by advising, "When you dress 'up,' think of yourself as being in professional disguise."[10]

Phyllis Saltzman Levy recommends that women should emulate some behaviors that white males engage in and explains why she believes certain other behaviors should be avoided.[11]

- ☐ Baking cookies for meetings. If others bring food to meetings, do the same.
- ☐ Answering the communal phone. If you do so, you will be asked to take messages and therefore give the appearance of being a secretary.
- ☐ Cleaning up after meetings. If you do it, you are proving that you like the role of tidying up. Leave when others leave.
- ☐ Taking notes for meetings. If asked to do so, you can say that you do not have the time to get the notes out to everyone.[12]
- ☐ Doing needlework in the presence of colleagues. The benefit of relaxation and enjoyment does not override the disadvantage of being viewed in a conventional and stereotyped female role.
- ☐ Using apologetic speech and qualifying statements ("This probably doesn't make sense"). If you sound incompetent and weak, you may be perceived that way.
- ☐ Presenting a "sweet" image by always smiling, nodding agreement, refusing to take a strong stand, using a "sweet" tone of voice when intending to sound firm.[13]

Levy also points out the danger of going to the opposite extreme:

> There is a difference between being feminine and acting unprofessional. Some women lose sight of their female identity. They buy into the white male system with even greater force and commitment than white males. These

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women never smile, even at appropriate times. They are always very serious; there are times to be businesslike and times not to be. Be able to laugh. Do not take yourself too seriously. Do not start thinking of the opposite sex as the enemy. The richness of the female experience is worth maintaining. The objective is not to become a white male. The objective is to be able to function in a white male society.[14]

SELF-CONFIDENCE AND MODESTY

An eagle egg was lost and ended up being found by some chickens who raised the eagle. The eagle learned to peck at the ground with his head down. One day another eagle flew above, and the eagle on the ground sighed, "Oh, I wish I could fly like that!"

We create many of our own limitations. Because most of what we do is learned, we can learn many things we do not think we are "good at." We *choose* many of the behaviors we engage in. Many women have less self-confidence than their male colleagues; this, in turn, may make them more cautious about doing new things or taking risks. They doubt their own abilities and are less likely to set high goals, and they may be more fearful of failure than male colleagues.

Women have been socialized to be modest, to play down any attention to themselves. They may believe that it is "unladylike" to talk about their achievements. Women are supposed to "wait" until they are noticed. That simply doesn't work in academe or elsewhere. The American Psychological Association's "Survival Guide to Academe for Women and Ethnic Minorities" notes:

> Women and ethnic minorities...have been taught to be modest in presenting themselves. Further, they often have a lack of knowledge and confidence about the significance of their contributions. Women are less likely than men to attribute their successes to their own ability, and more likely to blame their failures on a lack of ability ....Awareness of the self-labeling trap is important....
>
> Self-effacement can affect how colleagues evaluate your successes and failures and can diminish your self-esteem and confidence. When presenting yourself to other faculty members, do not hide your achievements. There is no place for false modesty when preparing tenure documents. You should concentrate on conveying favorably your strengths, accomplishments, and contributions to the field, your department, and your university.[15]

If you don't tell anyone about a paper you published, they simply may not know about it. If you don't tell people about your ideas and achievements, they may begin to believe that you have none. To the extent that women are devalued, it is even more important for women than for men to display their achievements.

Yet because of their low self-esteem, some women may find it hard to believe in their own abilities. Even women who are confident about their abilities may have difficulty in openly talking about their skills and abilities; they see themselves as "bragging," and to the extent they have been taught to be modest, "bragging" seems unfeminine—even unnatural—to some women.

Some women act "girlish." Others, attempting to please, may smile excessively and try to be sweet, charming, and modest. These are mannerisms that do not give the impression of confidence and ability. Some people may think a woman who acts this way simply is not very bright. In many people's minds "girlishness," sweetness, and modesty are incompatible with intelligence. Showing less confidence is easily translated by many as being less competent.

Thus, self-deprecating remarks such as, "I'm not too good with statistics" are more likely to be heard as expressing a lack of competence and confidence rather than as expressing modesty about one's abilities. Indeed, because women often have less self-esteem and have been "trained" to be excessively modest (in contrast to men, who are "trained" to boast about their skills), women's "modesty" can be a hindrance; it can become a self-fulfilling prophecy or communicate to others that one is not competent.

Women's speech often has been described by linguists, communication specialists, sociologists, and feminists as generally being less assertive and more deferential. Women typically use more qualifiers ("Perhaps there is a likelihood..." and add tag questions such as, "It's hot, isn't it?" Their voices may go up at the end of a sentence and their statements may begin with apologies ("I'm probably wrong but..."). Men's speech, in contrast, is typically more definitive, strongly assertive, and often both competitive and combative in nature. Often the proposed solution for these speech differences is to help women learn to talk assertively, in the manner of men. While this can be helpful, it presents still another dilemma for women. Those who talk assertively may well be seen as "unfeminine" or, at worst, "castrating." No matter how women speak, their style may viewed by others as "not quite right." This is the difficulty in which women often find themselves: if they are perceived as "feminine," they are not seen as capable of functioning successfully in the world of work; if they act "less feminine," they are not perceived as capable but as "bitchy" instead. Thus, women often walk a fine line, between being "too feminine" or "too masculine."

Some researchers note that the less assertive style of speaking has positive value in fostering collaboration and encouraging others to participate.[16] A definitive statement such as, "We must start a new committee" puts listeners in a position of having to agree or disagree, and the status of the speaker may well influence how they respond. In contrast, a statement such as, "Well, what do you think? Would a committee be helpful?" allows people to express their opinions in a more

collaborative manner and without regard to the status of the speaker. Ideally, women and men alike need to learn to speak in both styles—the "masculine" and the "feminine"—so that each person can choose whatever is appropriate for the particular situation.

LETTING PEOPLE KNOW HOW GOOD YOU ARE

Merit is obviously necessary for survival and success, but merit alone is not enough. Because women and the work they do is often either ignored or devalued, it is even more important for women than for men to be sure that others know how good their work is. Here are some suggestions that might be helpful.

Work to get on programs at professional associations. In addition to submitting individual papers, sometimes you can submit a complete panel for the program. Work on projects, committees, task forces, and reports with others as a way of increasing your visibility. If you have been asked to serve on too many committees and want to decline, explain why, and if possible, suggest the names of other women or men. If you have reason to believe that you have been selected because you are a woman, state clearly that there are other people who can represent women's concerns on the committee, and again suggest other people. Be sure to let the people you suggested know why you suggested them.

Do not apologize for yourself, any unique characteristics you have, or experiences you have had. Make an asset out of anything "different" from the male norm. For example, if you took care of a family before returning to school for your doctorate, talk about your motivation perhaps being stronger than that of students who may have gone on directly to complete graduate school.

When you have done good work—whether it is publishing an article in a prestigious journal, giving a presentation at a conference, or solving an institutional problem—be sure to inform your colleagues and especially your department chair. One way to do this is to send a short memo, "For your information," which encloses the article or describes what you did. Be sure that professional information is put into your personnel folder.

SEXUAL HARASSMENT

The few studies that have explored the extent to which women faculty members have been sexually harassed by other faculty members or administrators suggest that anywhere from 20 to 50 percent of women faculty members experience some form of sexual harassment from colleagues or administrators.

If this happens to you, talk to someone. The director of affirmative action, the head of a women's center, or the chair of a committee on women's concerns, as well as other colleagues, can often be helpful. Having a conversation is not the same as filing a complaint, and you may be able to get some good advice about how to deal with the situation.

Find out what your institution's policy is and what your options are. In almost all instances such behaviors are illegal, but understandably most people do not want to file a formal complaint within their institution or instigate a lawsuit. Fortunately, there are other options that may be helpful.

Speak up when sexual harassment happens. Some of the suggestions under "Handling Discrimination" on page 5 may be helpful. It is important that you communicate that you do not like the behavior. Say something like, "I don't like this behavior at all, and I want you to stop it." Labeling the behavior as sexual harassment may be helpful. When nothing is said, the harasser often believes, erroneously, that the woman is enjoying his behavior.

Keep records, such as a journal or notes, that detail what behavior occurred, when, where, witnesses (if any), how you responded, and what the harasser did next. Should you decide later to file a charge, these records can be used as evidence. Just as important, writing things down can help you sort out your feelings about what has happened and help you figure out what you want to do next.

Do not blame yourself. Women often wonder if they have "caused" harassment. It is not something that a woman causes; it is an action that the harasser has decided to take.

Write a letter to the harasser.[17] Many people have successfully stopped sexual harassment by writing a letter to the harasser. Usually the harasser stops harassing the writer as well as other women. The letter consists of three parts:

- ☐ Part one is a factual description—without evaluative words—of what has happened ("Last week you put your hand on my knee").
- ☐ Part two describes what the writer feels about the behavior ("I'm very upset about this," or, "I'm disgusted with you, and I want to throw up when I see you.").
- ☐ Part three consists of what the writer wants to have happen next ("I want your behavior to stop," or, "I want you to treat me with the respect that colleagues deserve").

The letter is delivered either in person or by registered or certified mail. The letter works in part because it is a private communication; copies are not sent to the department chair, dean, president, or the press. The writer keeps one copy for herself. In most cases, the harasser is surprised that his behavior is viewed this way, and he also may be fearful of what the writer is planning to do. Typically the harassment stops and the harasser says nothing. If he wants to discuss it or apologize, the writer should simply say something like "I'm not going to discuss it; I just want your behavior to stop." The letter can be used as evidence should it fail to stop the harassment and if retaliation then occurs. It is important to keep in mind that retaliation is prohibited to the same extent that sexual harassment is prohibited.

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OTHER SEXUAL ISSUES

In seeking out informal contacts with male colleagues, be aware that friendly/professional behavior on your part may be misinterpreted by some men as a sexual overture. If you want to have lunch with a colleague, you may be able to defuse any sexual misinterpretation by referring to your boyfriend or husband, if you have one, or inviting two men or a man and another woman. Having lunch in places where you are likely to be seen by colleagues is also helpful. If you do this often in visible places and with different colleagues, the act of having lunch or dinner with someone may seem more ordinary.

Think twice before becoming involved in a sexual relationship with colleagues in your department, especially with senior colleagues. Should the relationship fail, it could have a negative impact on the tenure process, especially if there are bad feelings. If your relationship is known, it may affect the way in which colleagues and administrators judge your work. They may be more likely to believe that your good work was done by your colleague rather than by you. Remember that sexual "indiscretions" are usually forgiven men but held against women. Even the hint of a sexual relationship can undermine a women's professional reputation and reinforce others' beliefs that her sexuality is more important than her professional competence. Do not assume that a departmental relationship can be kept secret for very long.

INTERVIEWS

Interviews are often more stressful for women than for men for several reasons. To the extent that women have less self-confidence and esteem, they may feel uncomfortable and less prepared. While overtly discriminatory actions are relatively rare during interviews, there nevertheless may be real differences between the types of questions asked of men and of women. Men may be more likely to be asked open-ended questions such as, "How did you become interested in biochemistry?" This type of question allows the respondent to portray him or herself in the best possible manner by selectively discussing those items which are most flattering and impressive. In contrast, women may be more likely to be asked more direct and factual questions such as, "How many articles have you published?" or, "What courses have you taught?" These types of questions give a woman less opportunity to display herself in an impressive manner. Moreover, being asked factual questions can be a tense experience; at worst, it can be more like a grilling. To the extent that open-ended questions may relax an interviewee, that person may appear a more pleasant, more compatible potential colleague.

Knowing that different types of questions may be asked may alleviate some of the discomfort women might experience. Moreover, women who understand these dynamics can take the initiative and introduce their strong points, especially if their interview gives them little opportunity to "display" their strengths.

What if during a job interview someone asks if you have children? It is not only inappropriate but illegal. One can point out that it is illegal, but that may be difficult to do if you want the job. You can respond, "No [or yes]. Do you have children?" Some women who have been asked if they plan to have children and did not want to raise any doubt about their future have responded with downcast eyes and stated that they were sterile. When they became pregnant later, they talked about the wonders of modern medicine—a white lie which some may find offensive but which, it should be noted, is not about the applicant's qualifications but about an irrelevant obstacle to being evaluated fairly. Others who have children have responded to the underlying assumption that a woman cannot have children and perform well on the job. They have described the adequacy of their child care arrangements and their ability to maintain professional commitment.

Another strategy is to act puzzled: "I'm sorry, I don't understand what having children has to do with the job." And of course, one can also respond playfully, and perhaps with a smile and a small giggle, and say, "Oh, is this a test to see how I would react to an illegal question?" or, "You didn't really mean to ask that question, did you?"

WORKING IN THE SYSTEM

As outsiders, women often can see more clearly the flaws in the structure; they are faced with the constant tension of wondering, "How do I fit into the structure?" and, "How do I work to change the structure without risking rejection by the structure?"

Almost every woman needs to make continual decisions about how she fits into the system. She will undoubtedly be advised by some to avoid women's issues both politically and in the classroom. That may be a safer course, but doing so exacts a heavy price. One cannot move ahead and be content if one has denied important parts of oneself. Part of life is taking risks and accepting what comes with the choices you make. No one can move ahead or survive without taking some risks. If there are unpopular issues or subjects you want to deal with, you may need to do so if you are to be at peace with yourself. If you want to pursue women's issues, including women's studies, go for it.

There are a number of ways you can deal with unpopular issues in order to minimize damage to yourself. Developing specific strategies and allies can make the difference between a rocky but fulfilling career and a career that is dashed on the rocks.

If you work on women's issues on campus, develop another

area of expertise such as budgeting, faculty rights, or academic freedom.

Encourage men to support women's issues. Work for and with men. Where possible, seek out men who are more likely to be comfortable with women—men whose wives have a career, men who have daughters, or men who are nontraditional in their approach to life and work. These men can often be helpful in providing information, support, and advice.

Don't try to "act like a man." It's a dead-end game in which women can't succeed because they are not men. Be the kind of person you are.

Before bringing up an idea at a departmental meeting, discuss its feasibility with other members to get additional input and establish yourself as a productive member of the department. If the idea is inappropriate, it is better to learn this during an informal conversation than during a formal meeting.

When failure occurs (and everyone makes mistakes sometimes), figure out what went wrong and how the situation can be improved (what do you do next to retrieve it?). A good way to answer these questions is to talk to people about what you might do. After you have an idea of what makes sense to you, you can also seek out the person(s) involved, apologize if necessary, and/or ask for their advice on "Where do we go from here?" and/or explain what you plan to do to remedy the situation.

Watch how you label your behavior. If you label your behavior only as failure, you are more likely to damage your self-esteem. Norma Raffel at Pennsylvania State University always labels any "failure" as "a learning experience." This is a way to temper your anxiety and recover from the experience by dealing with it differently than if you simply label it as "failure." Do not lose sight of your strengths.

RELATIONSHIPS WITH STUDENTS

Both male and female students have gender-related expectations of their professors. They may expect women to be more caring and motherly than their male teachers. They may put more pressure on women faculty members for special treatment such as extending deadlines, and they may be angrier at a woman faculty member who refuses than at a male professor acting the same way.[18]

The double bind that exists for women faculty members with their male colleagues also exists with their students. At the same time that students may expect supportive behavior from female faculty members, they may nevertheless interpret such behavior as weakness, perhaps seeing it as "too feminine." But if a woman professor acts more assertive—like her male colleagues—she may be viewed as "too masculine."

The gender of a person affects the ways in which they are perceived, particularly in terms of competence and ability. Because women's behavior is often devalued—by faculty members as well as students—even when women faculty members act the same, their behavior may be viewed differently. Thus, a strong woman faculty member may be seen as rigid and controlling rather than intellectually rigorous and challenging. The devaluation of women by both women and men students may explain why women's teaching often receives lower evaluations than men's, as found in several studies. The devaluation by students can take the form of negative body language such as turning away, lack of eye contact, and other forms of inattentiveness. Statements made by women faculty members may hold less credence than those made by males and are more likely to be met with skepticism or disbelief. Thus, it becomes important for a woman faculty member, where appropriate, to let her class know of her achievements. It is often wise to do this at the first session of the class in order to combat devaluation.

The authority of a woman faculty member may be challenged more often and more intensively than that of a male faculty member, especially by some male students. Although most male students are respectful and receptive, a small but significant number will find it difficult to relate to a female professor. Indeed, sometimes male students will continually contradict a woman faculty member, regardless of the content of her words. One way to deal with this is to deflect the question to the class, rather than trying to restate your own position. If a student says something similar to "That doesn't make sense, everyone knows that..." you can say, "Well, what do the rest of you think about this?"

Sometimes a student may criticize you inappropriately, as in, "You are politicizing the class by talking about women's issues," and good teaching techniques (such as "Tell me why you believe that" or a sympathetic "It's hard for many people to talk about these issues") may fail. In such instances you may need to be aware that the comments may not be logical or subject to change through rational discourse because they may have a large emotional component. If the student is particularly aggressive, a flippant remark in some instances, such as "Ah! It will probably get worse" may be helpful as an indirect means of telling the student that the attack on the faculty member is not working.

CONCLUSION

All of the issues discussed here are public problems, not private ones. Although each of us often has to handle these issues and may even do so successfully, these issues will continue to be present and cannot be solved for everyone solely by individual actions which may enhance individual careers. Thus, it is important for those who are committed to equity to work specifically for changes that will address these issues for everyone. This might involve a wide array of actions such as

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working on an institution's committee on sexual harassment, using women's caucuses in the disciplines or women's campus committees to ensure that questions are asked of candidates for office or employment to ascertain their commitment to women, or pressing the curriculum committee to ensure that scholarship on women is incorporated into existing courses.[19] It might mean joining a women's organization, or at the least, contributing money to those organizations that you believe can make a difference.

When we are concerned with the structure of academe (or society at large) there are probably four options we can choose. One choice is to flee, although where one would go to flee discrimination is questionable. A second choice is to withdraw psychologically into apathy or bitterness and not be involved in changing the institution. A third choice is to be a revolutionary, to try to tear down the entire existing structure and replace it, hopefully with something better. Not only is that almost impossible to do, but it also leaves us with not really knowing what the new structure would be and how it would operate. The last choice is that of trying to change society, inch by inch, bit by bit, painstakingly instituting change in whatever small measure one can. And that is precisely what people of good will have been doing since time immemorial.

Much has changed in academe during the last two decades, but much more is needed if we are to develop a society where men and women have options that are not limited by traditional notions about what is proper and improper. We have taken the first step of what will be a very long journey.

NOTES

1. Patricia Basset, "The Minority Female in Postsecondary Education: Challenges and Strategies," in *Women in Higher Education: Changes and Challenges*, edited by Lynne B. Welch (New York: Praeger, 1990), 238–45.

2. Women's Concerns Committee of the University Council on Affirmative Action, SUNY–Albany, *Women and Tenure at Albany, A Guide for Faculty*, 1987.

3. Some of these suggestions were described in a speech I gave, "Mentoring, or, Should You Put All Your Eggs in One Basket?" at the Association for Women in Science, First Annual Conference, Washington, D.C., June 7, 1991. For further information, see *Academic Mentoring for Women Students and Faculty: A New Look at an Old Way to Get Ahead* by Roberta M. Hall and Bernice R. Sandler (Washington, D.C.: Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, 1983).

4. John W. Creswell, University of Nevada, *Faculty Research and Performance: Lessons from the Sciences and Social Sciences*, an Executive Summary, ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report 4, 1985).

5. Martha Tolpin, *Wolman's Guide to Academe: Moving In, Moving Up, Moving Over*. Wellesley, Mass.: Higher Education Resource Services-New England, Cheever House, Wellesley College, 1981.

6. Tolpin, *Wolman's Guide*, 23.

7. Betty Lehan Harragan, "Getting Ahead: Management Training for Women," in *Working Woman*, February 1984, 38.

8. *Graduate Engineer*, February 1991, 73.

9. See, for example, Regina Barreca, *They Used to Call Me Snow White but I Drifted* (New York: Viking Press, 1991).

10. Personal communication.

11. Phyllis Saltzman Levy, "Surviving in a Predominantly Male Institution," in *The Ph.D. Experience*, edited by Sue Vartuli (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1982), 54–56.

12. I would add that one can agree to do so, but make it clear that you have no intention of doing this routinely: "I'm sufficiently free of sex-role sterotypes that I actually can take notes, but next time it will be someone else's turn."

13. Levy, "Surviving in a Predominantly Male Institution," 55–56.

14. Levy, "Surviving in a Predominantly Male Institution," 55.

15. Publication still in press.

16. Roberta M. Hall and Bernice R. Sandler, *The Classroom Climate: A Chilly One for Women?* (Washington D.C.: Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, 1982), 11.

17. The letter technique was pioneered by Mary Rowe at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. A detailed description appears in the *Sexual Harassment Packet* (Washington, D.C: Center for Women Policy Studies, 1983).

18. These faculty/student issues are discussed more fully in "Women Faculty at Work in the Classroom, or, Why it Still Hurts to Be a Woman in Labor," by Bernice R. Sandler (Washington, D.C.: Center for Women's Policy Studies, in press).

19. See *It's All in What You Ask: Questions for Search Committees to Use* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Women Policy Studies, 1988).

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MAY 1992

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HOW TO BALANCE WORK AND FAMILY

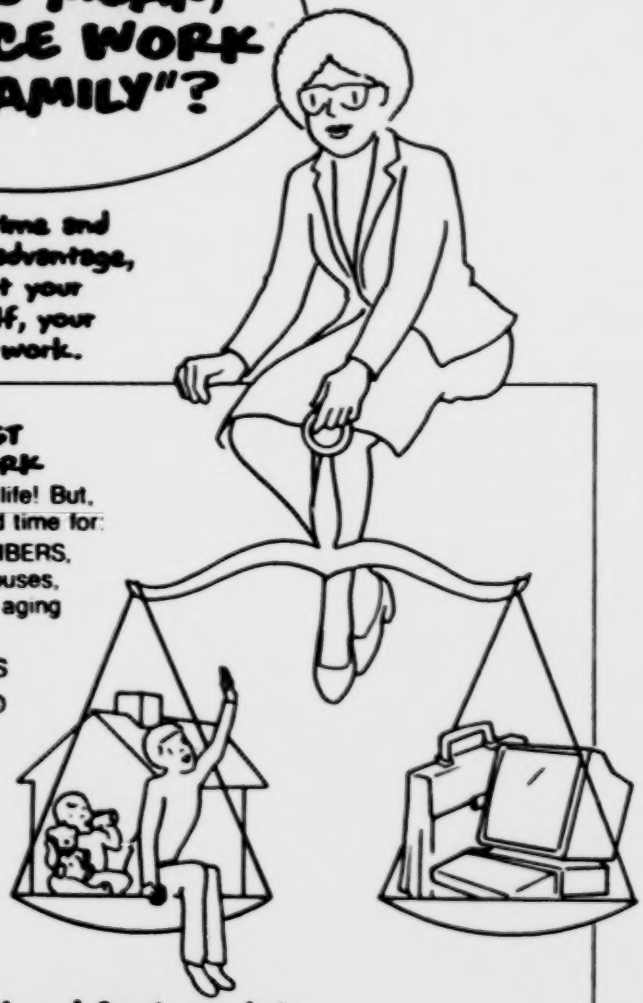
D49

WHAT DO YOU MEAN, "BALANCE WORK AND FAMILY"?

It's using your time and energy to your advantage, so you can be at your best for yourself, your family and your work.

TODAY, MOST ADULTS WORK
– it's a fact of life! But, most also need time for:

- FAMILY MEMBERS, including spouses, children and aging parents
- THEMSELVES
- HOUSEHOLD CHORES
- FRIENDS.



Balancing work and family can help you get the most out of life.

D50

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REAP THE REWARDS

of balancing work and family. By managing your time and energy better, you can:

ENJOY TIME AT HOME
and strengthen family ties

AVOID STRESS-RELATED HEALTH PROBLEMS
and missed work

BE MORE PRODUCTIVE
and increase your job satisfaction

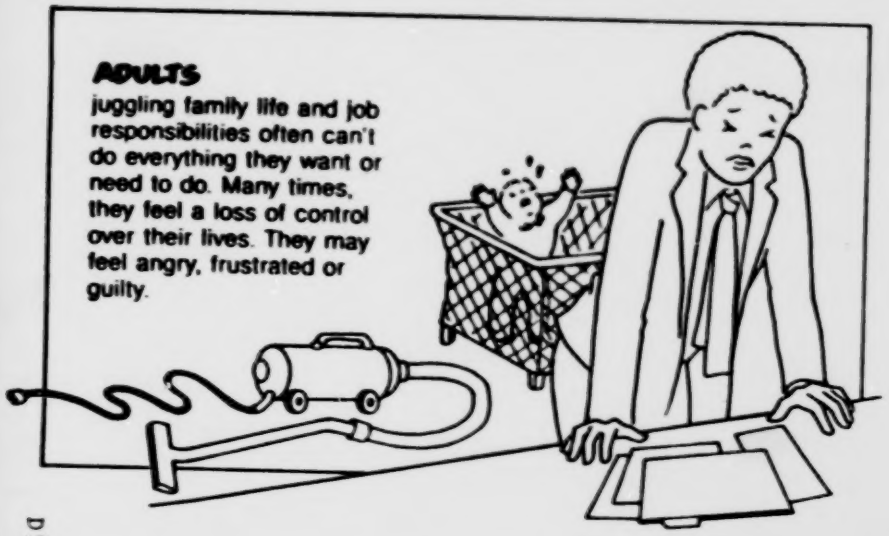
IMPROVE YOUR MENTAL HEALTH
– and your whole outlook on life!

Balancing work and family is good for families and employers!

Learn more...

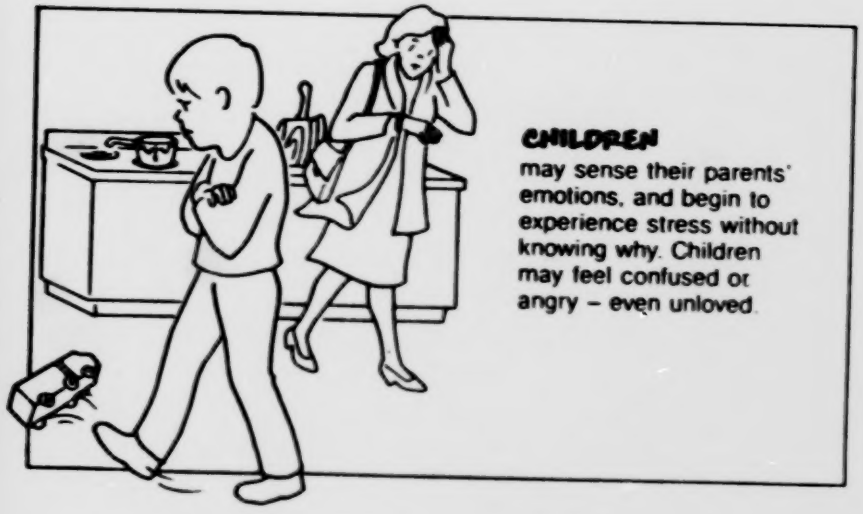
EVERYONE CAN FEEL STRESS

when the demands of work and family conflict.



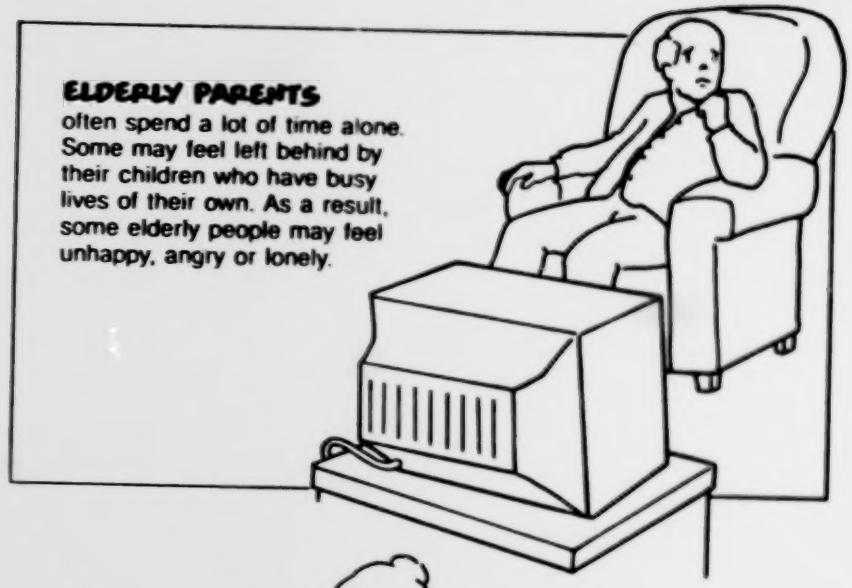
ADULTS
juggling family life and job responsibilities often can't do everything they want or need to do. Many times, they feel a loss of control over their lives. They may feel angry, frustrated or guilty.

D51

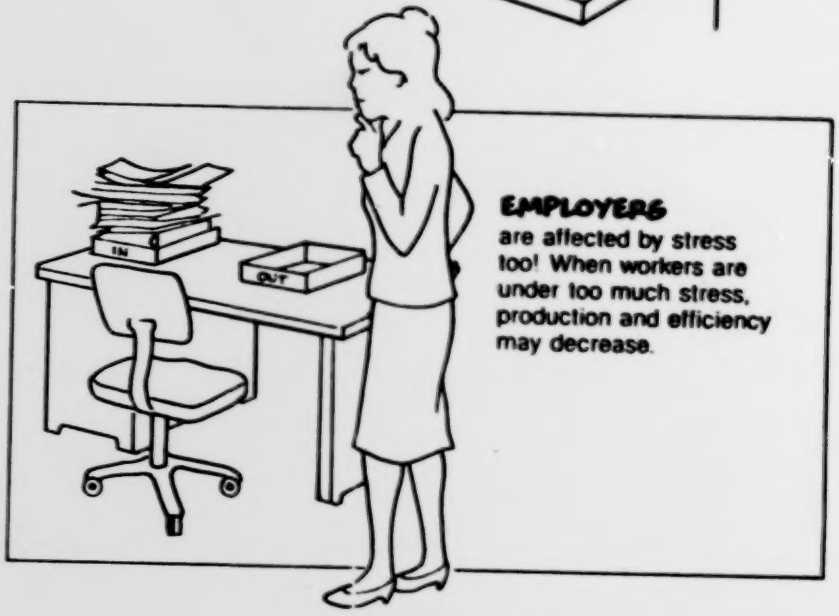


CHILDREN
may sense their parents' emotions, and begin to experience stress without knowing why. Children may feel confused or angry – even unloved.

100



ELDERLY PARENTS
often spend a lot of time alone. Some may feel left behind by their children who have busy lives of their own. As a result, some elderly people may feel unhappy, angry or lonely.



EMPLOYERS
are affected by stress too! When workers are under too much stress, production and efficiency may decrease.

Find out how you can reduce stress in your life...

101

ORGANIZE YOUR TIME

It can help you get more out of every day — with less stress!

DEVELOP A FAMILY CALENDAR

to avoid time conflicts. Mark all appointments, meetings and special family occasions. Post the calendar where everyone can use it.

D52

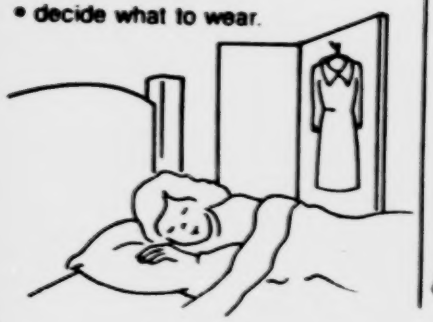
ESTABLISH A ROUTINE

to help family members use their time and energy more wisely. Remember to include "fun time" in your schedule.

EASE THE MORNING RUSH

by preparing the night before. For example, you could:

- ask children to set the breakfast table
- bathe or shower
- prepare lunches
- decide what to wear.



HOLD FAMILY MEETINGS

regularly. Use meetings to:

- establish family goals
- discuss problems and possible solutions
- plan family events
- assign household chores.

EXERCISE AS A FAMILY

to promote good physical and mental health for all! Try to exercise for 20 minutes, 3 times a week. (Talk to your physician before beginning an exercise program.)

PLAN TIME WITH EACH CHILD

every day. Even as little as 15 minutes a day of their parent's undivided attention can help children feel good about themselves.

TAKE TIME FOR YOURSELF

– when you feel rested and relaxed, you're better able to meet family and job responsibilities. A few minutes alone can make a big difference.

CONSIDER HIRED HELP

for routine chores and errands, such as mowing the lawn or cleaning the house. Check on services to help with big projects, such as window washing or spring cleaning.

THE WHOLE FAMILY CAN SHARE HOUSEWORK

and reduce the stress of any single family member.

THINK ABOUT YOUR STANDARDS

Your current standards for housework may be unrealistic for a working family. Remember – not every job needs to be done perfectly.

ASK OTHERS TO PITCH IN

Let family members choose chores, or rotate chores every week or month. Discuss your expectations beforehand, and try not to be critical of others' best efforts.

ENCOURAGE PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY

Everyone can:

- pick up his or her belongings
- clean up after using the kitchen or bath
- put clean clothing away
- pick up dirty clothes.

START CHILDREN EARLY

Children enjoy helping adults, and it helps build their self-esteem. Kids can begin to do simple chores as early as age 3.

D53

8

MAKE MEALTIME A SPECIAL TIME

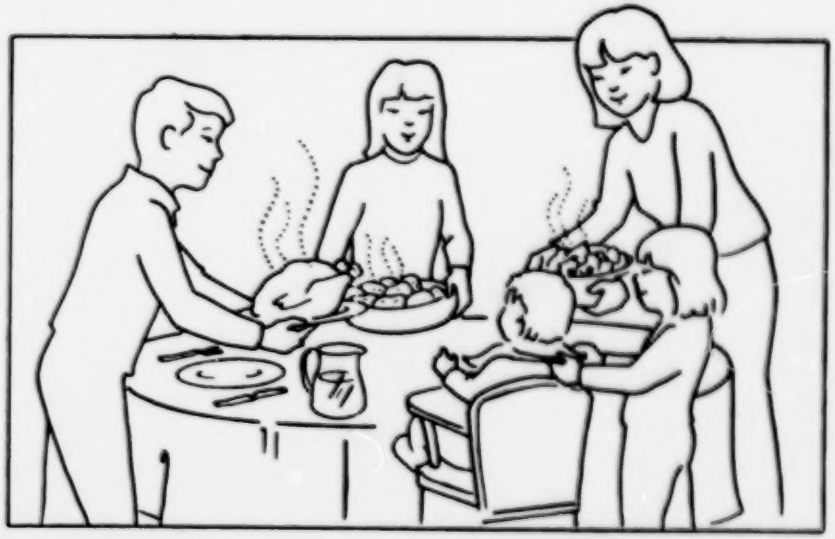
— an opportunity for the family to enjoy one another.

EAT TOGETHER OFTEN

Try to share several meals a week. Give each family member a chance to talk about his or her day. Stress the importance of being together at mealtime.

LET EVERYONE HELP

Members will enjoy meals more if they help prepare them. Also, early experience in the kitchen will benefit children as they grow older.



EAT NUTRITIOUSLY

Each family member needs to eat a balanced diet every day, including:

- fresh fruits and vegetables
- dairy products
- meat, poultry, fish or dried peas, beans and nuts
- whole grains.

PLAN MEALS AHEAD OF TIME

Try to do all your shopping in one trip a week. Cook extra at every meal, and freeze leftovers. Eating right doesn't have to mean hours in the kitchen at every meal.

9

SPECIAL SERVICES

can help you care for dependents.

CHILD CARE SERVICES

If you're planning to have a child, or need to change your present child care arrangements, consider:

IN-HOME CARE
Your child receives care in your home.

FAMILY DAY-CARE HOMES
Your child receives care in the provider's home.

DAY-CARE CENTERS
Groups of children play and learn together in centers.

ELDER CARE SERVICES

If you need to care for an aging parent, now or in the future, consider:

ADULT DAY CARE
Parents can receive care and take part in activities at local centers.

HOME SERVICES
Older people who live alone can get help with personal care, cleaning and meals.

RETIREMENT COMMUNITIES
Older people can keep their independence and receive limited services.

LONG-TERM CARE FACILITIES
These can provide extensive medical care and supervision.

D54

CHOOSE DEPENDENT CARE WISELY

Consider:

TRUST
You need to feel comfortable leaving your dependent with the provider.

LOCATION
Try to find a provider convenient to your home and work.

COST
Be realistic about how much you can afford.

LICENSES
Make sure the provider has all state-required licenses.

STAFF
There should always be adequate, well-trained staff on hand.

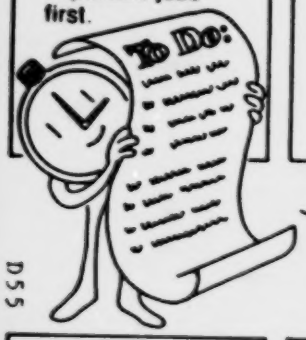
PROGRAM
Activities should be well-supervised and age-appropriate.

ENVIRONMENT
The care environment should be neat and clean.

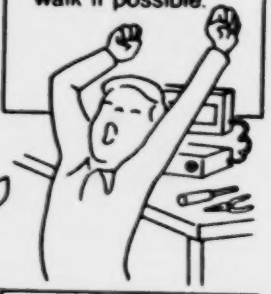
REFERRALS
Other clients are a good source of information.

REDUCE STRESS AT WORK, TOO!

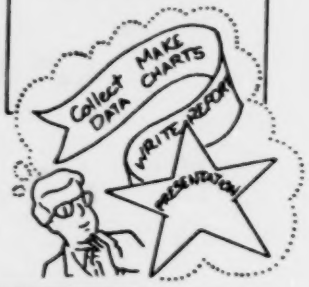
USE TIME WISELY
Make a list of everything you need to do. Do the most important jobs first.



TAKE BREAKS
Breaks can help keep your concentration at its best. Get up and stretch, or take a short walk if possible.



BREAK LARGE JOBS INTO SMALLER TASKS
Set a deadline for each task so you can complete the project on time.



USE YOUR LUNCH HOUR
Run errands, write a letter, or get some exercise, if possible.

CONFRONT PROBLEMS
Talk with your employer. Offer suggestions for changes that benefit both of you.

LEARN TO COMMUNICATE EFFECTIVELY
You'll have fewer problems at work – and home – if you can express yourself clearly, and understand others.

YOUR EMPLOYER MAY BE ABLE TO HELP

Ask personnel or human resources about special options your employer may offer. For example:

EAPs (EMPLOYEE ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS)
can help employees, and their families, with personal problems that may affect work performance.

AT-WORK CARE CENTERS
provide convenient quality care for dependents.

DEPENDENT CARE ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS
provide a tax benefit for employees with dependent care expenses.

INFORMATION AND REFERRAL SERVICES
offer employees:
- information about local sources of dependent care
- educational materials
- workplace seminars.

ALTERNATIVE WORK ARRANGEMENTS
may be an option. Some employees may:
- choose a nonstandard work schedule
- divide a full-time position between 2 or more employees
- work part-time
- do work at home and send it to the workplace electronically.

APPENDIX E

END-OF-SESSION RATING FORM

The Graduate School and University Center
of the City University of New York

Center for Advanced Study in Education
Graduate Center 33 West 42 Street, New York, N.Y. 10036

SEMINAR SERIES ON COLLEGE TEACHING FOR WOMEN PH.D. STUDENTS:

Evaluation Form - Session # 1

April 4, 1994

What was the single most valuable part of this session?

Please explain why:

What changes or additions to this session would have been useful?

Name (optional): _____

Program: _____

APPENDIX F

END-OF-PROGRAM SURVEY

The Graduate School and University Center
of the City University of New York

Center for Advanced Study in Education
Graduate Center, 33 West 42 Street, New York, N.Y. 10036

WOMEN'S SEMINAR ON COLLEGE TEACHING CAREERS
Participant Survey

I need to know about your reactions to the Women's Seminar on College Teaching Careers program, and about its possible impact, in order to both revise the program for future groups of participants and report results to the funding agency. Please take a few minutes and answer all of the questions as fully and as honestly as possible; your responses will be confidential and will not be seen by other participants or people associated with the Graduate School. Thank you very much for your support of this program and for completing the Survey by May 27, 1994 and returning it in the envelope provided.

1. Please indicate how useful (worthwhile) the Seminar was overall:
   __Not useful at all __Not very useful __Somewhat useful __Very useful

2. Please indicate how enjoyable the Seminar was overall:
   __Not enjoyable at all __Not very enjoyable __Somewhat enjoyable __Very enjoyable

3. Would you recommend the Seminar to a friend? __No __Yes, with qualifications __Yes.
   Please explain your response: _____

   _____

4. With respect to the content we covered, what was:
   a. the single most important topic (be as specific as possible): _____

   _____

   b. the single least important topic (please be specific): _____

   _____

   c. the most surprising topic or discussion in terms of what you didn't expect: _____

   _____

Please turn page over

5. In your opinion, what topics needed more discussion? _____

_____

What topics/discussions could have been eliminated or curtailed?

_____

What topics were omitted that should have been covered? _____

_____

6. With respect to the program's organization:

a. Were there: __ too many __ too few __ just enough meetings?

Please explain: _____

b. Were the individual sessions: __ too long __ too short __ just about right?

Please explain your response: _____

c. Were the presenters' generally:

__ Not good at all __ Not very good __ OK __ good __ excellent

d. Was the atmosphere:

__ Not conductive to free exchange **or** __ Conductive to free exchange
__ too formal and didactic **or** __ relaxed and easy **or** __ supportive and encouraging

e. Was there enough time at each session for everyone to voice her opinion? __No __Yes

Please explain your response: _____

f. As a group, did the range of participants' different experiences:

__ detract from the discussion **or** __ add to the discussion
__ make the discussion less interesting **or** __ make it more interesting
__ lead to too many diversions **or** __ stimulate new ideas

g. Was having two presenters at each meeting:

__ distracting **or** __ reinforcing

h. How well, in general, did the presenters work together?

__ Not at all well __ Not very well __ Somewhat well __ Very well

Continued, next page

7. Overall, how would you rate the balance between the Seminar's emphasis on "women's concerns" and its emphasis on "pedagogy and teaching career concerns"?

___ Much too much emphasis on (please explain):____ _____

___ Somewhat too much emphasis on: _____ _____

___ Just the right amount of emphasis on those broad areas: _____

8. What one aspect of the Seminar (person, idea, etc.) was most outstanding? _____

_____

9. Please describe one new idea or concept that you heard about or learned through the Seminar: _____

_____

The next few questions are about the program's impact on you.

10. Please rate your interest in women's issues/concerns before and after taking part in this program:

Before		After
____	Not interested at all	___
____	Not very interested	___
____	Neither interested or disinterested	___
____	Somewhat interested	___
____	Very interested	___

11. If there was any change in your level of interest from before to after, to what do you attribute it? (Check as many as apply.)

___ the program overall
___ a particular presenter; please specify:_____
___ the influence of peers
___ the general content
___ a specific remark or idea; specify:_____ _____
___ other; please specify :_____ _____

Please turn page over

12. How involved in women's organizations/causes were you before the Seminar?

__ Not at all involved __ Not very involved __ Neither involved nor not involved __ Somewhat involved __ Very involved

13. Now, as a result of the Seminar, are you more or less interested in becoming involved:

in a discussion group: __ less interested __ about the same __ more interested
in an activist cause: __ less interested __ about the same __ more interested
in a political group: __ less interested __ about the same __ more interested
in a professional group: __ less interested __ about the same __ more interested

14. Please briefly describe any other changes in you personally that have come about as a result of your participation in the Seminar.

Please use the rest of the space for comments.

Name (optional): _____

Program: _____

Thank you for completing this Survey. Please use the envelop provided to return it by May 27, 1994 to Barbara R. Heller, CASE, CUNY Graduate Center, 25 West 43 Street, Room 300, New York, NY 10036.

APPENDIX G

AGENDA

Women PhD's and the Academy

presents

Last Monday of the Month Lunch Time SEMINAR SERIES

addressing academic and professional issues for women in academia

Noon to 1:30 P.M. Room 1629 GSUC

November 28 — **Academic Power Structure & Interviewing**
Joan Tronto
Prof. of Political Science and
Coordinater of Women's Studies, Hunter College

December 14, 4:00-7:00 p.m., Rm 1700 B/C. Holiday Gathering with the FIPSE Seminar on College Teaching participants

January 30 — **Writing for Publication**
Louise DeSalvo
Prof. of English, Hunter College

February 27 — **Grant Writing**
Barbara R. Heller
CASE/Special Programs, GSUC

March 27 — **Presenting at Conferences**
Amy Mandelker
Prof. of Comparative Literature, GSUC

April 24 — **Balancing Priorities & Setting Limits**
Jill Dolan
Prof. of Theatre, GSUC

Call Barbara R. Heller, 212/642-2910, for more information